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SAFETY THROUGH AN ARMS RACE We must challenge this old theory --- EMRYS HUGHES MP

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, successfully opposed a motion that "The Pacifist is not a realist," in a debate in the London University Union last week.

As briefly reported in Peace News last Friday, the motion was defeated with 37 votes against and 32 for. Six abstained.

Peter Kirk, Conservative MP for Gravesend (the seat formerly held by Sir Richard Acland), proposed the motion.

"Pacifism," he said, "strikes at the fundamentals of the whole foreign policy of this country. Pacifism is the denial of the use of force in any circumstances. It is a deliberate rejection of force in any circumstances of gain a moral rejection of force in order to gain a moral advantage.

Disarmament is courageous but imprac-

If the world disarmed there would be no

"If the world disarmed there would be no war, but whether it is right or moral, is it realistic to disarm while one nation is armed?

"The primary function of the State is to preserve the safety of the people from attack, out I don't believe what one of my opponents at Gravesend said, that if we stood naked before the world the moral effect would make others join the crusade."

He alleged that both world wars had occurred because the western democracies, especially Britain, had disarmed. Collective tecrity had saved Korea.

DUTY OF THE STATE

DUTY OF THE STATE

Emrys Hughes, opposing the motion, said he hardly thought that Germany went to war because of the Oxford Union's 1933 resolution not to fight "for King and Country," as Mr. Kirk had alleged, or because of the famous "Pacifism, like Christianity, has never been tried. There has never been unilateral disarmament. Pacifists have never controlled the Dolicies of this country, and it is absurd to talk of the Tory Governments between 1916 and 1939 as dictated to in any sense by pacifists.

The safety of the people is the duty of the State. How is the safety of the people guaranteed today by force—by the Bomb? Every scientist has said and every military authority should say that Atom or H-bombs cannot safeguard our people. You can only make the safety of others problematical. Even General MacArthur has concluded that arms are obstacles in the light of today.

"We must challenge the old theory that an arms race can bring safety. The next war, we are told, may literally be over in six hours. If we pile up arms we are going atraight into universal suicide.

ON BACK PAGE

ON BACK PAGE

Dr. Soper on Methodist ethics today

FROM SMUGGLING TO PACIFISM

HENRY CARTER, "a man underestimated both by his friends and his finies," was responsible for bringing Dr.

Donald Soper to pacifism. Dr. Soper to pacifism.

the Methodist Peace Fellowship, of which is President, when the Fellowship met to be brate identification. celebrate its 21st anniversary on November 5.
During the celebrations, the Rev. Hickman otherson, a veteran pacifist, told of the original methodist beaver. Grays and of the Fellowship Methodist Peace Group and of the Fellowship

His adventures as a missionary refusing to and challenging.

Spread your ideas in the Army, Cos told

Army, Cos told

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Unusual conditional exemption

Dr. Pearson, of Birmingham, spoke of the Pacifist conviction to which he came as a Movement dent attending the Student Christian ement international conference.

His Tribunal gave him an unusual condition of exemption—he had to leave the country within three months!

After serving with the Quakers in Russia, Bratitude from the village in which they

PEACE BRITAIN MUST LEAD THE NATIONS TO ABANDON WAR

- Chairman, London Co-op Party

REPEAL NEW CALL TO NATIONAL SERVICE ACTS

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE London Co-operative Party Conference, which met at Bethnal Green last week-end, passed the following important resolutions with overwhelming majorities:

1. "That this Conference records its determination to oppose the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction on territory controlled by the British Government; storing of them on such territory; launching of them from such territory."

2. "This Conference reassirms the demand for the repeal of the National Service Acts made by the London Conference, 1954. It is therefore greatly concerned that no action has been taken on the assurance given fore greatly concerned that no action has been taken on the assurance given by the platform at the time, that an attempt would be made to gain the reversal of the National Party's support for conscription. Conference therefore calls upon the Political Committee to give urgent consideration to this question, and to place a suitable motion on the agenda of the 1956 National Conference."

The resolution on nuclear weapons was brought in by the West Willesden branch of

Cyprus

ON THE

PEACE-PATH

JOSS

RECRUITING

The North Tottenham branch introduced the National Service Acts resolution, which was moved by Ron Isaacs, a pacifist member of the Labour Peace Fellowship.

An emergency motion on Cyprus, put forward by Finchley branch, also gained a large

majority: "This Conference condemns the Tory Government for reverting to military measures to resolve the problem of Cyprus. It declares that no territory should be made a military base against the desires of a majority of its inhabitants. It calls upon the Government to declare itself in favour of self-determination for the people of Cyprus and demands an early withdrawal of British troops."

Cost of living

A resolution on the cost of living, moved by Ron Huzzard, a Quaker and member of the Labour Peace Fellowship, supported "claims by working people for the full fruits of their labour and believes that the cost of living can be stabilised and even reduced," by, among other things, "ending the existing Colonial Wars and reducing other military expenditure."

The Chairman, Mr. E. P. Bell, in his address to the Conference said:

"Our economy is distorted to breaking point by the colossal expenditure on armaments. Man-power, materials and capital wealth are being squandered. For what? To secure peace? I do not believe it.

THE WRONG MEN AT **GENEVA**

"Secretary of State Dulles' great value at this sort of conference . . . is his ability to dissect the opposition case and to pounce on weaknesses. . . . Mr. Macmillan's reputation as one of the toughest debaters in the House of Commons has been maintained here. His criticisms have been enveloping, a shotgun blast compared with Mr. Dulles' sniper's bullets. Antoine Pinay, French Foreign Minister, has perhaps been the sharpest of the three ministers. Unclouded by optimism and scornfully suspicious of any Soviet proposal, he has irked Mr. Molotov from the out-

Drew Middleton, reporting from Geneva on the Foreign Ministers' Conference, New York Times, November 14, 1955.

Four years ago Peace News quoted the American Quaker report on US foreign policy, "Steps to Peace," which said of international meetings of statesmen

"It becomes more important to score a headline victory tomorrow than to discover the substance for an agreement next week."

"This mad race to develop the destructive power of nuclear energy can only end in the annihilation of civilisation.

"The representatives of the Governments of the great powers meet at Geneva. For what? To secure a reduction of armaments, to resolve the problems which bedevil international relationships. That is their avowed purpose, but all they do is to continue the old game of power politics in which all seem equally

Peace is our policy

Britain must lead the nations to abandon this evil game of diplomacy and war.

"Surely the first point of our policy is clear and definite, there must be an end to continuity of British foreign policy. Peace is our policy. As a first step let Britain lead the British Commonwealth in a reduction of armaments and a renunciation of nuclear weapons. Let us cease to talk and be the first to act.

"Then let us turn the capital, the materials, and the man-power so realised into socially useful channels. Let us use these resources in part to make our own land a prosperous cooperation in our hearts and in our deeds to those who need our help in the under-developed countries of the world."

U.S. QUAKERS SEEK TO END SEDITION LAWS

"No man should be persecuted "OFTEN the interest of the nation in

"I RECOGNISE their courage," and "These men set fine example," were the headings given to two letters in the Portsmouth Evening News last week, written after the paper had been set to be a tribute. security and the interest in freedom for each individual are said to be in contives from local Quaker meetings in Pennflict; we respectfully submit that in the sylvania, New Jersey and reported that a bunch of hyacinths, a tribute long run the two are interdependent." to war resisters, had been removed from

Portsmouth war memorial.

The Portsmouth Evening News had quoted the local organiser of the British Legion Haig Fund as saying "I am quite prepared to remove the message (attached to the flowers) myself—unless somebody else beats me to it."

The first letter, signed by Tom Mills, pointed out that Portsmouth memorial did not belong to the British Legion. These words appear in the brief filed on behalf of a Quaker Group which has asked the US Supreme Court to rule a 1919 Pennsylvania sedition law invalid. They do this on the ground that "no man should be persecuted for advocacy of religious or political ideas nor be condemned for mere associations." Their plea was filed in support of a ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversing the convictions. These words appear in the brief filed on sylvania Supreme Court reversing the conviction of a Pittsburg labour leader, Steve Nelson, under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act. "This is a free country and conscientious objectors are legally recognised. I am not a CO but I am prepared to recognise their brand of courage."
A second letter, from former Air Force officer John T. Arkinstall, endorsed Tom Mills'

Meeting human needs

The brief continues:

"Freedom to speak, freedom to hear, freedom to write and freedom to read, freedom to associate and freedom to travel-these are ends of great worth but they are also necessary means to a vital, functioning democracy.

"If we are to co-exist on this earth with other political, social and economic systems, then we want to compete with them for the allegiance of those not yet committed to any system. We want to demonstrate the superiority of our way of meeting human

The brief, which was published on November 14 in pamphlet form, was filed by three prominent Philadelphian attorneys, Walter C. Longstreth, Allen S. Olmsted, and William Rahill, at the request of the Friends Civil Liberties Committee, a 22-member group appointed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The committee consists of representa-

for his ideas"

Sedition laws in 37 other states would be affected by the Supreme Court's ruling, Mr. A. Burns Chalmers, Chairman of Quaker Civil Liberties Committee told the Press last week.

A number of people had recently been investigated or indicted under sedition statutes in four additional states, and at least seven indictments, those in the Louisville bombing cases*, have involved questions of racial segregation. The decision in the Nelson case, it is felt, will have an important bearing on future efforts to implement the Supreme Court decisions on integration in Southern Schools and other public facilities.

Speaking of the Society of Friends, Mr. Chalmers said that many Quakers had been subjected to "indignities and cruelties in prisons" for attempting to worship according to their beliefs. The early establishment of religious religious and political freedom in Penn-sylvania by the Quaker followers of William Penn was a direct result of the lack of such freedoms in the Old World at that time.

Hearing of the case was due to begin last

*Under Kentucky's sedition statute seven people have been indicted. One of the seven, Carl Braden, a former journalist on the Louisville Courier-Journal staff, has been sentenced to 15 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. These indictments grew out of the bombing of a Negro home in a white suburb of Louisville. Braden, a white man, had purchased the home and transferred it to the Negro family. He was convicted of sedition for allegedly stirring racial unrest. The persons who had blown up the home were not apprehended.

Come to the Peace News Bazaar and Film Show to-morrow — see back page

officer John T. Arkinstan, endorsed Tom Mills' views and concluded: "These men obey the dictates of their conscience and if all men everywhere expressed themselves similarly then there would never be another war.

to the British Legion.

"You're married and want to get some peace?

PACIFIST POSY ON WAR MEMORIAL

Objectors set

fine example

YOUNG pacifists should be encouraged to join the Danish army and spread their

This view is put forward by J. B. Peddersen in the current issue of Pacifisten, journal of the Danish War Resisters' Movement.

He urges that there, "in the hotbed of militarism," they should "spread the ideas of militarism," they should the war method the pacifist movement about the war method their an absurd, underdeveloped conception the pacifist movement about the war method being an absurd, underdeveloped conception.

"So long as pacifists let themselves be shut up in (alternative service) camps... so long will pacifism remain unnoticed."

This view is put forward by J. B. Peddersen

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130 Brattle St. Cambridge 38, Mass.

To be indignant without understanding is what

TESTING TIME

THE ending of the second Geneva meeting finds the statesmen of the world barren of any constructive idea. They do not know which way to turn.

The "Summit" meeting in July registered a common recognition of stalemate. Each side had become aware that it was too dangerous to seek to realise its objectives by the traditional method of war or threat of war. Each side, however, seems to have taken the inconsequential view that this realisation might lead to a different attitude on the side of the opposing group and that therefore it would be a good policy to mark time and see what might happen.

It has taken this second meeting to show them that this is a fallacy, and that the completely new situation that faces the Great Powers today calls for a completely new outlook if there is not to be world disaster. For the precarious security provided by the H-bomb stalemate is a wasting asset. We shall either find a radically different way of dealing with the world's problems or we shall face destruction.

The complete bankruptcy of ideas of the statesmen in the face of the present unparalleled situation was made very evident by the speech delivered at Gettysburg by Mr. Dulles, after he had gone over its text in detail with President Eisenhower, and in which he summed up the position after the Geneva meetings as seen by the US Government.

The "summit conference" had made it less likely that there would be "open war." Nothing that had happened at the Foreign Ministers' conference had changed that, "so that aspect of the Geneva spirit remains." The cold war would continue, however, and there would be no drastic revision in the US programmes for defence and mutual security. "The general order of magnitude can remain as planned."

The US President and the Foreign Minister have been unable to produce a single constructive word. The statesmen are at a nonplus. They can find nothing that they can do that offers positive hope.

Marshal Bulganin speaking in India, also thought that the Geneva spirit remained, and thought that the problems awaiting settlement would be solved; but he equally had no positive new policy to present that would offer the world any other promise of security than mutual terror.

It is true that he spoke as if the cold war were no longer being waged, and said that his Government "do not wish it to return," and this can be held as an indication that the threat of assured peace has less terrors for the spokesmen of Russia than it has for the spokesmen of America.

The statesmen, then, have no policy to deal with the situation -merely a marking-time period which may provide them with an opportunity to find one. They will only find a policy that will fit the situation, however, if they are brought to consider much more radical conceptions of change than they are at present able to contemplate.

This, it seems to us, puts a very special responsibility upon pacifists and others who have rejected the traditional ways of thinking about society. Are they equally at a nonplus with the statesmen and politicians? If not, the present is the time when

they must speak out to the world with a message of hope.

There are only two ways of dealing with the affairs of the world: the way of mastery, and the way of brotherhood. The statesmen of the powers have always acted on the assumption that the way of mastery was the only way that could be followed. Pacifists and the radical thinkers with whom they have kinship have always rejected the way of mastery and have declared for the way of brotherhood.

Today the way of mastery threatens our general destruction. The only hope lies in the way of brotherhood.

It is for pacifists and those akin to them to point that way. Their message must be a two-fold one: they have to point to the futility of armaments; and they have also to give clear expression to the positive policies of human brotherhood that the abandonment of armaments will make possible.

Today is a testing time for the statesmen of the world; but it is also a testing time for those who have challenged the traditional conceptions upon which the statesmen act. May they

Third Tier

NOR men who are assured that war is now unlikely—that peace as "the sturdy child of terror" is guaranteed by the possession of the H-bomb by the USA, Russia, and Britain—the statesmen of today are manifesting a singularly feverish "just in case" activity.

Thus the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Macmillan, and the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Sir Gerald Templar, have been in Bagdad this week, engaged on the defence" organisation known as the Bagdad Pact.

NATO, being inadequate, had to be supplemented by SEATO. Then, despite this two-fold military structure and despite also the great accumulation of H-bombs it was held that there was still a serious gap in security arrangements and this Bagdad pact, linking Britain for military purposes with Turkey, Irak Persia and Pakistan had to be brought

told, is that for the first time an Arab nation will enter into "international defence duties" and will have ceased to regard defence as something "narrow and local," having regard only to its own in Kenya. territory.

One further step will have been taken that is to say, to securing that wars shall only be fought on the world level and therefore shall involve nuclear war-

"London's Burning"

IN Britain next May, in preparation for the war that cannot take place, there are to be exercises in which military and civil defence forces are to co-

The exercises are to cover London and the Eastern and South Eastern regions and the comparable areas of the military

The civil defence directors of these regions will thus have an opportunity to see their forces in action, although what are to be assumed as the circumstances in which they are to act has yet to be decided. The Government has not yet said how it will protect the population in a nuclear war, and no policy on the question of evacuation has been decided upon.

US policy is based on the evacuation of cities. But the fact that even this is a completely impracticable policy was revealed as soon as it was discussed in detail. And this despite there being wide territories outside the cities to which evacuations could be made. We in Britain have no such spaces and an evacuation policy would be meaningless.

To state the assumptions upon which the exercises will be conducted would reveal their futility. Is it to be assumed that there is to be one H-bomb on London's centre? On such an assumption there could obviously be exercises in salvaging on the outskirts of the London catacombs. But the inevitable question must follow: why should such an assumption be made? We are in-formed by those who have made an expert study of this question that only eight H-bombs, suitably placed, could destroy, not merely London but the whole life of Britain; and eight is not an extravagant number out of the accumulated stocks.

There will then be no setting out of the detailed assumptions upon which

BEHIND MEWS

trative aspects of a meaningless job. To give such detail would reveal either the extreme improbability of the assumptions or the extreme futility of the exercises.

The exercises will be just an expensive and wasteful facade to conceal the emptiness behind.

Here are gifts

THE familiar pattern of action is to be followed in Cyprus that we have seen so many times before.

We say to a people who claim a demo-One result of the Bagdad pact, we are cratic right to decide their own future: Consent to remain unfree and we will make you more prosperous,

> We have recently seen this same course followed in Guiana as we have seen it

It is true--we tell these people--that your economic and social conditions up to now have left much to be desired, but now we have seen our errors and we will put things right. All you have to do is to consent not to be free. It is true that a great deal of the help we shall give you will have to be spent in providing means for the forcible suppression of any aspirations for freedom that our newly-found benevolence has not removed; but there can, of course, be no advance to prosperity without stability. Therefore we will first strengthen the police force and see that it is reliable; after which we will bring you the benefits that it is in our power to confer, but which we have previously overlooked.

The sum of £38,000,000 is to be spent in a development plan for Cyprus. There will be help in agricultural development; communications and electrical development will be assisted; and there will be plans for the development of a modern port which, in the words of Sir John Harding, can "help make Cyprus the busiest, most prosperous island in the Mediterranean.

The first charge, however, will be for the "organisation of a police force fully capable of being an effective instrument of public security."

A warped statement

ON November 18, at the close of the Geneva meeting of Foreign Ministers, Mr. D. N. Pritt, President of the British Peace Committee, issued a statement on behalf of his Committee, which is published on page eight.

This provides one more example of the kind of pronouncement that could obviously not be put out by a body whose concern for peace comes before a concern to protect from criticism one of the parties to the negotiations that have ended in disappointment and frustration.

It will be observed that Mr. Pritt opens his statement with a reference to Mr. Macmillan's failure to secure even mited agreement." Mr. Macmillan limited agreement." failed, it is true, but the failure was no more his than it was the failure of all the other Foreign Ministers present: those of the USA, France, and Russia.

We agree, of course, with some of the these exercises are to be undertaken—comments that Mr. Pritt makes in his Movement for Commercial emollient noises on the adminis-statement. The attitude of the West to have a place too.

a unified Germany and NATO is obiously one that Russia cannot be expected to accept, but Mr. Pritt is being a great deal less than candid here.

A disposition on the part of the Russians to talk seriously on the question of "free elections" for German could have changed the whole situation in this regard, and it is unworthy of in members of the British Peace Commi tee to ignore this aspect of the matter

Whatever may be the views on the question of electoral methods of M Pritt and the Communist members of the BPC, there must be some on the body who do not feel that their men bership requires their acceptance of the methods that have been imposed East Germany.

Similarly with regard to East-Wes contacts: it is not true that the Russian were told that "they must accept all Western proposals or none." The western proposals or none." simply refused to isolate the question of East-West trade to the exclusion every other aspect of East-West contact

The question of the freedom of tact of peoples and ideas across from tiers is one with which any peace mittee should be concerned, and a honest comment on this aspect of discussions would not have stepper short at the remark that "Mr. Macmilland and the stepper short at the remark that "Mr. Macmilland and the stepper stepper short at the remark that "Mr. Macmilland and the stepper short at the remark that "Mr. Macmilland and the stepper short at th lan refused to negotiate on easily barriers to East-West trade."

A World's Fair and Peace

WORLD'S FAIR in Brussels A WORLD'S FAIR in Brussen being planned for April, 1958. Commissioner-General for the Baron Moens de Fertig, makes for it kind of claim that has been made sind World's Fairs began. It is to help wards Peace.

"The future can no longer be far on a local or national level. tolerance and understanding peoples is indispensable to peace. 1958 Brussels Exhibition must the fore emphasise the necessity exhaustive humanist activity on a of mutual understanding. If this is achieved, the exhibition will made its mark in history. It will helped man to have faith in destiny."

This Fair will have a different note from all that have gone before nowever. It is to be a huge model the atom. Nine great balls made stainless steel or aluminium will rise a six-hundred-feet high representation the structure of the atom. The structure, containing lifts and escalator will be called the Atomium.

There is to be a special hall dev to world co-operation and invitations to participate here will be extended bodies like the United Nations, the the International Pad Crass and the the International Red Cross Organisation for European Economic

"We will try to find innovations," Baron Moens de Fertig. "We will all conventional forms and endeavour to promote new and original

We offer him two suggestions first is that beside the International Cross the War Resisters Internation should be represented, and that in sard to the weneral score of the gard to the general scope of the devoted to world co-operation he sho bring into consultation the Internation Committee of Organisations for Peace

With all that uranium in the Con it would be too much to suggest Movement for Colonial Freedom

Not the answer: Phonographs at a dime a piece Letter from USA by A.J.Must

couple of days of welcoming Martin Niemoller and Mrs. Niemoller to the US and launching them on the first leg of a month's tour under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Robert Treat Paine Foundation, which provides lectureships in theological seminaries on the theology of Christian pacifism.

One of our adventures has been having a movie made of Niemoller giving a fifteen minute address on pacifism.

On November 11-which we no longer call Armistice Day, but Veteran's Day over herehe thrilled an audience of hundreds who packed Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in New York with his call to pacifist action.

Speaking of Niemoller reminds me of Germany and the tremendous struggle against rearmament which Niemoller and others have carried on. The day after he gave his address here on "The Way to Peace—1918-1955," the West German Army was born in Bonn.

Yet all the indications are that almost nobody is fired up over it and that the government itself is aware that progress in building armed forces if it takes place at all, will be

Defence Minister Herr Blank swore in one hundred and one—actually one over a hundred —members. The ceremony took place in a garage—shades of Hitler, Hindenburg and Kaiser Wilhelm—and most of the officers were not even in uniform.

Another encouraging report is that of the 172,000 applicants for the new Army less than 18 per cent are youths and non-veterans. Let us hope that the millions of youth who are thus displaying their lack of interest in volun-

I HAVE had the privilege during the past teering will also develop the determination and course of days of welcoming Martin courage to stand firm against being conscripted. I have been meaning to comment on a very

significant admission made by some of the leading figures in the Eisenhower Administration a couple of weeks ago.

The occasion was a conference held in Washington under the auspices of an organisa-

tion bearing the ponderous name of Founda-tion for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order.

Its co-chairman is Rev. Dr. Edward L. R. Elson of the National Presbyterian Church in the capital, the President's own pastor.

Cheap phonographs

The frankest statement made at the gathering was given by Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Said the Admiral: It is obvious that the Communists have made amazing gains, largely because they know what they believe, why they believe it, and can explain it. On the other hand, we who are free have many times been incoherent or have lacked the verbal ability to explain or defend completely what our way of life really is. We must know what we mean by it. We must be convinced that it presents the very best way of life in today's world—and I think we are. But we must be able to explain this conviction to others." James Reston, one of the most brilliant and outspoken of the New York Times' special reporters, called attention to the fact that in recent months President Eisenhower himself had often lamented that the US, which spent so much time and energy on the arts of persua-sion, "is no longer able to articulate its con-victions effectively beyond the seas."

Reston surely puts his finger on the real trouble when he remarks that the major emphasis in Washington has been placed on "the technical means of distributing the

American story rather than on what to say." As if on purpose to caricature this emphasis on publicity technique for solving the world's problems and staying the advance of Communism, the New York Times came out with the headline: A 50 cent Phonograph Is The Newest US Weapon.

David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, unveiled the new weapons, "a rugged little hand-operated phonograph (Gramophone to my English readers) that can be manufactured for 50 cents or less." It weighs only ten ounces. It plays records which can be manufactured for a

The little machine is unbreakable, Mr. Sarnoff assured his listeners. It can be dropped, complete with records about the democratic faith and the American way of life, "behind the Iron or Bamboo Curtain" and at the price millions could be delivered gratis.'

But let us take Reston's cue and consider the content of the message the new gadget is to bring home to the captives of Communism. Presumably, it is to be a message of libera-

ion. And this reminds us that the Eisenhower Administration started out with the announcement that liberation of peoples under the Com-munist yoke, not mere "containment" of munist yoke, not mere "containment" of Communism, was the policy for which it was going to carry on a great "crusade."

The Chinese masses were to be freed, North Korea, Indo-China, East Germany, the Satellite countries of Europe and presently the Russian people themselves.

Now one of the things that "Geneva" stands for is that, in the present view of the Eisenhower Administration, the Communist regimes

continental China, North Korea, North Nam, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Po

Rumania and so on. It is hardly necessary, except for some who may be reading me for the first to say that in so far as this means that of US has no intention of going to war encouraging smaller nations to go to war order to change the status quo in these land

welcome it. Indeed, one of the big defects in the carling rogramme of "liberation" by the threat massive retaliation" was precisely that por "massive retaliation" was precisely that per who truly needed in many ways to be liberated could not conceive of war as a mean percomplishing that accomplishing that end or believe American bases in all corners of the

were bastions of liberty.

But that "democracy" itself should the become synonymous with maintenance of status quo and should no longer have attraction as over against totalitarianism, is indeed tragic.

Who wants a record?

Under these conditions to peoples in the called underdeveloped countries, Communisting the short run a means of liberation ancient forms of ancient forms of tyranny. It at least drastic changes in the extant social order. in countries like France, Italy and Spain presently it will be seen to be true in hall Latin-American countries also—there are social cleavages which American policy to not know how to resolve and which, so they remain, will provide an opportunity for Communism.

hower Administration, the Communist regimes and their rulers are regimes and rulers with whom you "co-exist," not regimes and rulers with from whom peoples should be and are to be liberated.

There is no longer any idea of liberating

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Fair and Peace

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by A. J. Muste

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We need peace in Malaya

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY

By Olwen Battersby

THE war now lingering on in Malaya in its seventh year has cost this country £65 million a year; it has cost Britain and Malaya between them during the seven years well over £1,000 million," said Mr. Bob Edwards, speaking from the plinth of Trafalgar Square on November 13 at a rally organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

There was continuous drizzle; the audience shivered but remained intent.

Recently it had been estimated by Lord Boyd Orr that to create a world of plenty, to bring water to the deserts, to build up a life of security for our children and a good life for all men everywhere, would cost some £4,000 million a year.

"All this can be achieved in our own lifetime, if we do away with imperialism throughout the world;" Bob Edwards con-

"My country is a rich country," said Miss Gladys Lim, of Malaya, "rich in rubber, tin, and oil. The millionaires of rubber and tin have raid to their charachelders dividends of have paid to their shareholders dividends of as much as 200 per cent. In the midst of this the Malayan worker is poor, and his wages are low. Forty per cent of our children have no education at all.

"The war, which has caused only bitterness, has cost us in Malaya £30 million a year; our trade was a second of the second of th trade union leaders have been arrested and detained without trial; 600,000 Malayans have been uprooted and removed to barbed wire

16,000 casualties

"But the war has cost you, the British tax-payers, £65 million a year—£5 for every family. Twenty battalions of British Empire troops have been engaged, many of your young conscripts are among the 16,000 casual-ties of this year. ties of this war.

"You need peace in Malaya; we need peace in Malaya, together let us force an end to this terrible war."

The war in Malaya was a part of the heroic struggle of all colonial peoples—the Indonesians against the Dutch, the Vietnamese against the French, and the Malayans against the British—in their determination to be free. Independence was their birthright, and get it

This was the view expressed by all the remaining speakers: Mr. Wan Mamid, of Malaya, Mr. Ram Pande, of India, Mr. Stan Awbery, described as MP for Malaya, and Mr. Harold Davies, MP, who summed up the feeling of the meeting when he said:

"The property of the same Original of the meeting when he said:

"The present relationship between Oriental man and Western man is doomed to die.

"Malaya is a land rich in the raw materials "Malaya is a land rich in the raw materials essential to Western civilisation. But surely now, in the middle of the 20th century, man with his progress, his culture, his technological equipment, can evolve a system of society which will give access to raw materials without withholding from the peoples of South-East Asia their right to self-government."

FAILURE AND SUCCESS

Once again a generous friend has offered to give the last £100 to complete £1,000 which is the aim

of Headquarters
Fund for 1955.
Will other readers follow this encouraging example and promise to the total reaches £800 by Christmas?

am sure that we shall be able to claim any have now thus offered, because passed the £700 mark. So that would only leave further £100 to be raised, and I know I can rely on those who read this appeal to send in though to ensure that we shall once again

fulfil our aim. It was to be expected that the Foreign Secrewould fail to achieve anything at Geneva, because they were approaching their problems from false premises and the wrong angle. In a sense their failure is a justification of our beliefs and assertions, and there is greater need than even assertions, and there is greater need than than ever for increasing activity by pacifists to restore hope to a disillusioned world, and to point the real logic of the position.

We could do nothing but anticipate their failure, we have every reason to anticipate our success—the ultimate acceptance of pacifism as the have large acceptance of pacifism as the basis of a peaceful world and the immediate acceptance of our own individual responsibility full spread our message. So, please, help us to with success for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Our aim for 1955: Amount received to date: £701.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should pu Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

REHOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1 NEW YORK DEMONSTRATORS ON TRIAL

CD Law: "A violation of freedom of speech" -DEFENCE ATTORNEY

The trial of 20 of the American pacifists who demonstrated in New York's City Hall Park against a nation-wide

AFTER

LIBERATION

scene in Korea-Sce

"Citizens' Enquiry

Enquiry into the

A post-war street

civil defence exercise in June took place last week. The magistrate will hand down his verdict on December 5. They refused to go into shelters when ordered to do so. Instead they walked towards the City Hall to deliver a letter which pointed out that "Such public and publicised tests help to create the illusion

no part in helping to create this illusion." The following report of the hearing comes from JIM PECK, one of those arrested and a member of the War Resisters' League

that the nation can shield people from war's effects. We can have

of New York. Λ FTER several adjournments, the trial of 20 of us who pleaded not guilty in the June 15 civil defence case took place on November 16 before Magistrate Hyman Bushel.

By repeatedly chiding our trial attorney, Kenneth Greenawalt; by prompting the prose-cutor, Patrick Healy, on when to raise objections; by cross-examining our witnesses in an obviously antagonistic tone of voice, and by excluding much of the material which our lawyers found relevant, Magistrate Bushel clearly indicated his hostility toward us and our cause.

Some of his remarks to Greenawalt, which were somewhat inconsistent with the decorum generally associated with courtrooms, were:

"You haven't got Molotov among your witnesses, have you?"
"I wouldn't care whether they (we

"I wouldn't care whether they (we defendants) were praying or playing pool (at the time of the arrest)."

To the State's only witness, Col. Henry Hearn, of the Auxiliary Police, who made the arrests, he asked: "If they (we defendants) urinated in the park, you'd lock them up, too?"

On the question of whether police hadn't On the question of whether police hadn't had a paddy wagon on the spot indicating that they planned an arrest in advance, Magistrate Bushel remarked: "If they didn't they should have had it there."

Pacifist evidence refused

He refused to admit in evidence any literature or publications of the pacifist organisations involved, and barred almost all of our witnesses' testimony dealing with motivation for

the June 15 protest action.

However, when A. J. Muste took the stand, he got an opportunity to express our view-point—in response to some derisive remarks about pacifism made by the Magistrate. Muste about pachism made by the Magistrate. Muster asserted that our refusal to participate in the June 15 drill was because "the drill was part of war preparation under a Military Defence Act and did not apply to a clear and present danger"

Asked what we would do in the event of a real bombing, Muste said:

"We would do everything in our power to save human life and relieve suffering—but not as part of a military machine or under a military conscription act."

Other of our witnesses, selected to testify because they represent the various viewpoints involved, took the stand but were barred from expressing their positions. They included Ralph DiGia, representing the non-religious War Resisters' League position; Eileen Fantino, the Catholic Worker; Kent Larrabee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Quaker position, and Henry Maiden, the position of the legally recognised conscientious objector.

H-bomb protest

H-bomb protest

Jackson MacLow, who acted as an individual Jackson MacLow, who acted as an individual on another issue on June 15 (protesting the atom and hydrogen bomb tests which have been conducted by the US), but was arrested with the group, also took the stand and did with the group, also took the stand and did with the group, also took the stand and did sassistance between affiliated organisations in the fields of advection according and social.

with the group, also took the stand and did get the opportunity to express his position.

In summing up, our Attorney Greenawalt expressed the viewpoint that the New York Civil Defence Act, under which we were arrested, is a violation of freedom of speech and of religion, provisions of both the state and federal constitutions.

Assisting Greenawalt at the counsel table were our chief attorney, Harrop Freeman and Conrad Lynn, who defended us on the day of

Conrad Lynn, who defended us on the day of the arrest. Briefs will be filed by both sides, and Magistrate Bushel will hand down his verdict on December 5.

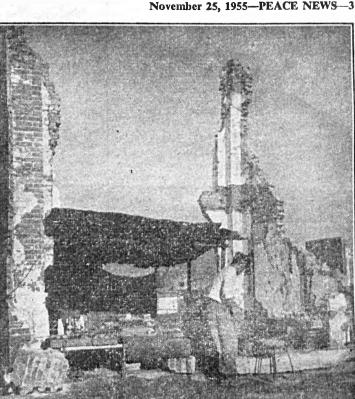
Briefly

When Deputy Emmy Mayer-Laule complained in the West German Parliament that toy aircraft bearing Nazi Swastika markings are being sold in Bonn she was told that they were made in the USA and that a government department was having talks with the US Embassy about their sale.

Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriot leader, has acknowledged a message of greeting and good wishes from the Welsh Nationalist

The National Guild of Co-operators; The National Co-operative Men's Guild; and the National Co-operative Men's Guild; and the "War on Want" Council became affiliated war on want Peace Council during the year under review in the Annual Report of the NPC published last week from 29 Great James St., W.C.1.

An Indonesian goodwill mission, led by Mr. Mohammad Rum, left for Australia in October. Before his departure Mr. Rum said October. Before his departure first country to that Australia had been the first country to that Austrana had been the first country to support the struggle for Indonesian indepen-



United Nations," page DUTCH AIR ACE MAKES RADIO PEACE APPEAL

From Hilda von Klenze

THE General Dutch Peace Action, an organisation which affiliates amongst others, the Dutch Section of the War Resisters' International, recently had the great good fortune of being given fifteen minutes on the air by the Dutch broadcasting system, "Liberal Protestant Radio."

As their speaker they chose Adriaan Viruly, the well-known airman and author of "Cain in the Cockpit" (Peace News, August 5, 1955).

After a short introduction in which he explained the aims of Peace Action, Viruly used the time at his disposal for a passionate plea against war and the weapons of war.

He stressed the fact that there is not only no defence against the immediate effects of the H-bomb in a small and densely populated country like Holland, but that no one can protect the peoples of the world against its slow and creeping contamination.

World organisations will aid colonial peoples

IMPORTANT outcome of a World Conference for Colonial Liberation held at Margate from November 5-7 was the setting-up of two world organisations that are to function in different spheres of activity.

One, a World Council for Colonial Liberation, will pursue political objectives concerned with the struggle against imperialism. The other, an International Council for Economic and Social Co-operation, will be concerned only with educational, economic and social

and Social Co-operation, will be concerned only with educational, economic and social projects and will seek consultative status as a non-governmental organisation with the Economic and Social Council of UN.

The World Council for Colonial Liberation will unite organisations working for the right of all peoples to self-government and freedom from external economic and military domination; aid for the underdeveloped countries; and the application of the Declaration of Human Rights to all peoples.

the fields of education, economic and social development, community projects, trade unionism and co-operative production and distribu

"Stop H-tests" appeal to UN

THANKS to the prompt action of its observer at the United Nations in New York, Mrs. Evelyn Peat, the British Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent the following cable to Sir Pierson Dixon, permanent British representative at the UN, during the debate on the effects of atomic radiation in the Political Committee on November 8:

"WILPF British Section begs you support Indonesian-Syrian amendment of nuclear tests. Kathleen Lonsdale, President.

The amendment in question (which unfortunately was heavily defeated) requested that pending a conclusive report on the effects of atomic radiation, all experimental ex-plosions of all types of nuclear weapons should Were the tests to be continued, asked Mr. Shukairy of Syria, until genetic effects showed up in future generations? It was the Assembly's duty, he said, at least to call for an armistice in "this undeclared war against

Besides keeping her Section fully informed of all latest developments at the UN, Mrs. Peat is able to make valuable on-the-spot contacts. She has had personal talks with Sir Pierson Dixon and other UK delegates, also with Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, Michael Scott, Krishna Menon and other notables about the Assembly. Regular briefings are held for representatives of nongovernmental organisations.

He deplored the general trend to label as Communists all who raised their voices for peace, and the fact that the Churches and cerain political groupings which used to advocate international solidarity, now seemed unable to give a lead and had even been pleading for the speedy rearmament of Germany.

Viruly concluded with these words:

"However many different ideas you may hold about the purpose of life, they are as nothing compared with your overriding duty to create a world in which your children can live, live together in honour, that is to say, in peace.'

Labour Youth demonstrate against call-up

MEMBERS of Wimbledon Labour Party League of Youth demonstrated recently outside a meeting arranged by the local Youth Employment Committee for those about to register for National Service.

The meeting was held in the local Air Training Corps centre, and the demonstrators paraded up and down carrying such slogans as "End Conscription Now," "Conscription is the Badge of the Slave—Keir Hardie," and Kill Conscription, not the Conscript.

Most young people attending the meeting took the No Conscription Council's leaflet, "The H-bomb and the Conscript," which was being handed out.

Towards the end of the demonstration, which lasted half an hour, a local Labour Councillor joined in, carrying the Keir Hardie slogan.

TENTEN DE LE CONTRETE DE LA CONTRETE ENDSLEIGH

Christmas Cards and Gifts

We aim to raise £1,500 for Peace News from Christmas Cards, and invite every reader to help by ordering a set of samples and collecting orders from their friends. Discounts are allowed on all orders over £1, and there are special terms for bazaars. and for shops.

33 different Sample Cards for 10s. (\$1.50) 8 assorted from each range 2s 6d. (35 cents) Including envelopes and post free. Ample stocks still available. Send for samples now.

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Name	
Address	***************************************

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Welsh	Nationalism	?

If you are for peace you are for national freedom. Send for

"What is Welsh Nationalism?" by H. W. J. Edwards 6d (x 1id)

'Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism" Ed. D. Myrddin Lloyd 7s 6d (x 6d) And List of Publications

PLAID CYMRU (Welsh Party) OFFICES 8 Queen Street Cardiff

The tragedy of

pigmentocracy
THAT the South African White population should apply their usual rejection to the conclusions Professor Herbert Tingsten has a "The Broblem of South Africa" conclusions Professor Herbert Tingsten hadrawn in "The Problem of South Africa (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.) on the ground that the first-hand observations upon which it is based were confined to a visit in the Winter of 1953-4 may be taken for granted. He has, however, a grasp of the facts of the situation based upon preparatory study that is unlikely to be matched by the members of the Strijdom Government, and in place of a life-time spent in South Africa he brings a capacity for an impartial assessment precisely because his interests are not involved. He is Editor-in-chief of the Swedish newspaper, "Dagens Nyheter."

This book sets out concisely all the essential facts of the South African situation. The dominant impression to be drawn from it seems to be the tragedy that besets the White population who (with the exception of a few dedicated, courageous and saintly souls) have become a damaged and corrupted people that would seem to be beyond redemption.

Summing up, Professor Tingsten quotes Lord Olivier, a colonial official of great experience, and Secretary for India in the first British Labour Government, who wrote some thirty

years ago:

"South Africa occupies a special position in the British Commonwealth, in the Christian world, and, practically speaking, in the whole civilised world: it is a slave state."

Professor Tingsten remarks that the term "slave state" was, and still is, partly an exaggeration, but it has become nearer to being the truth today than when the words were written.

The picture the book leaves behind in the mind is that of the effect of the power of unintelligent and dehumanising religious conceptions as a means of adding ruthlessness to ceptions as a means of adding ruthlessness to the egotism of mean and narrow men. The South African White population are constantly insistent that they are a vehicle of civilisation. Readers of this book will get an understanding of why South Africa, under the dominance of Afrikaner standards, can have nothing worth while to contribute to culture or civilisation.

They have created a state dominated by fear, and the corruption of fear is destroying the worth of the Whites even more than it damages the Blacks. No outcome seems to offer itself other than progress in degradation

IT is notorious how fathers always play

with their boys' electric train sets, and

many parents will, undoubtedly, this

Christmas, be found reading their off-

Inevitably a few books stand out from a very

good average collection. These, by their beauty of production, beauty of writing, or better still, both together, stand apart from

age divisions and will have something for

Books of this kind are the two new volumes of the Oxford Junior Encyclopædia, now

complete, with the exception of the General Index (OUP 30s, each).

Volume 8. Engineering, is very thoroughly

tackled with full explanations of man's use

of Nature's resources by forging tools, con-

structing machinery, harnessing power and erecting great engineering works. Volume

11, THE HOME, is about how people live,

dress, eat, and bring up their children.

Each book is fascinating and will provide

A new edition of GULLIVER'S TRAVELS (OUP, 12s. 6d.) is another book for all to enjoy. Most beautifully printed in a good, large

browsing matter for many a winter's after-

noon, besides being a very great help in acute moments of homework trouble!

Jaques, this has had a few short passages

spring's new books.

most family members.

CHILDREN'S

Saint on the March*

By DAVID HOGGETT

TT was with a deep sense of gratitude that ex-Socialist leader. (For a history of Bhoodan

I closed this engrossing and readable book. For though I have had the opportunity of participating in Bhoodan (Land gift) work and have felt an obligation to spread the gospel, only a writer of Hallam Tennyson's calibre could give this penetrating and accurate picture of Vinoba Bhave and the historically unique movement that he has started.

The author first saw Vinoba—or rather his back—in 1946, but was unimpressed by this "holy man" who had apparently retired from the world into a spiritual shell. He was not alone in thus underestimating Gandhi's fore-most disciple: perhaps only Gandhi himself was fully aware of the hidden strength in this man, to whom he referred as his superior in the realm of the spirit.

If the personality of Vinoba Bhave (pro-nounced "Bhar-vay" rather than "Bar-vay") remains obscure it is no fault of the author, but simply because the man himself has succeeded so well in his ideal of reducing himself to zero, the better to reflect the spirit of God working through him. Nevertheless, when we read the story of Bhoodan, and of the change of heart in so many hard-boiled landlords, we begin through these effects to grasp something of the man who caused them.

The author aptly describes the difference between Vinoba and Gandhi by comparing the latter to a banyan tree, which spreads with infinite complexity into every field, depending on innumerable close contacts with the soil for its continued life-and the former to a lodestar, clear and simple, impersonally pointing

Here is described the bewilderment and loss of direction amongst Gandhian workers that followed the assassination of their "Father," and how Vinoba was reluctantly pushed into the limelight. The leadership he gives, however, is not intensely personal like Gandhi's, and there should not arise the same confusion

By Doris Canter

Bertrand Russell says of Lancelot Hogben's

MAN MUST MEASURE (Rathbone Books, 15s.): "I cannot too highly recommend this

masterpiece of simplification without falsifi-

cation." To the many children who get "bogged down" in sums, this book will

come as a revelation and their small mathe-

matical efforts will fall into their right place. Every conceivable picture, plan, and diagram is used to show "measuring" throughout the ages and throughout the world. Do try

FOURTEEN PLUS

Now for the books which appeal to different

age groups. Catherine of Corners, by Irene Byers, will be enjoyed by the over-14s. As in "Tim of Tamberly Forest," the point-of-view of the adolescent trying to start on the right path is well understood. Catherine,

injured in a street accident, and so debarred from her intended vocation, finds great

happiness and gives it, too, by organising a

children's art class in an overcrowded neighbourhood. This is published by Max Parrish and costs 8s. 6d. Boys will enjoy LUMBERJACK, by Stephen W. Meader

LUMBERJACK, by Stephen W. Meader (Richard Bell, 9s. 6d.). This is a story of tough men, snow-drifts, and wild animals.

been modernised.

to see this book.

type, with first-class illustrations by Robin SIX GREAT SCIENTISTS, by J. G. Crowther Jaques, this has had a few short passages (Hamish Hamilton, 10s. 6d.) is a welcome

cut and the spelling and punctuation have

too little attention is given by the author to Narayan, other than the offer of his life to the movement at Bodh Gaya, but then the main purpose of the book is to present Vinoba to the world.)

A detailed description is given of the occasion of the very first gift of land in Pochempalli (the first time, I believe, that the event has been fully reported), and of the subsequent development, as Vinoba walks to

Hallam Tennyson goes on to tell us of his own experiences with Vinoba's party, as they walk from village to village, and does not hesitate to speak frankly of the discomfort, the shortcomings of workers, the large proportion of cranks who tag along, and of the many little irritations which, as I know only too well, can loom so large and infuriatingly when one is in the thick of it.

The historic Bodh Gaya conference is fully dealt with in several chapters, and also an account of a visit to Mangroth, the first village to donate its entire land (the revolutionary evelopment which since publication of this book has been given dramatic impetus in the villages of Orissa). As the author points out, this abandoning of private property is communism, but with a little "c," the communism of the early Christians.

It is not only an accurate picture of Bhoodan and its founder that the author has given us. The many little scenes and incidentsin city and village, railway carriage and bullock cart—leave an impression of India that is as true as any I have come across. SAINT ON THE MARCH is indeed essential reading for all concerned with the creation of a peaceful

*By Hallam Tennyson. Gollancz, 13s. 6d.

A Nativity Play

THE OTHER KING, A Nativity Play in two Scenes, by L. Temple Jarvis (Epworth Press, 1s. 3d.). To write a play about a Biblical incident, and to make it fresh and interesting without departing from fact and tradition is a very difficult task. The author of this play

(who is Chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship) has done it, to some extent at least, by making his hero and heroine two minor characters in the service of the Herodian Royal Family, and showing the effect upon their lives of the arrival of the Other King. on his death. He has pointed the way, and the reins may be expected to be taken up by another—probably Jaiprakash Narayan, the

BOOKS—FOR **ALL AGES** addition to the "Six Great" series. The growth of scientific ideas is clearly traced

and the fortitude of people who have given us this knowledge surely gives us confidence to believe that "what mankind has had the ability to bring forth, mankind will also have the courage to control."

Not many history books have come my way this autumn, but A Book of Kings and Queens (Cassell, 7s. 6d.), by Arthur L. Hayward, tells of the eventful lives of various monarchs from Cleopatra to Queen

Victoria, and is well worth reading. TWELVE TO FOURTEEN

Twelves to 14s, with their many interests, will like THE YOUNG COLLECTOR'S BOOK, introduced by James Laver (Burke, 7s. 6d.). No less than 14 experts give information about different kinds of collecting (from cigarette cards to porcelain), and drawings and photographs help considerably.

There are many good novels for this age group. THE LAND THE RAVENS FOUND, by Naomi Mitchison (Collins, 8s. 6d.) is firstclass, with a wonderful atmosphere of Viking life. Anlaf lives with his family in Scotland, but is later forced to build a ship and sail away from his enemies to Iceland. How the community settles down with its problems of nationality and master and servants is thrillingly told.

Two good books about family adventures are THE FAMILY AT DOWBIGGINS, by Elfrida Vipont (Lutterworth, 8s. 6d.), and TANN'S BOARDERS, by Kitty Barne (Dent, 10s. 6d.)

The Dowbiggin family has to take boarders in order to stay in their dear north-country house, and the account of the paying guests is good fun.

The Kitty Barne book is about clever, lively children and their adventures in singing, violin-playing, and acting.

A beautiful book about a choir school, A Swarm in May, by William Mayne (OUP, 10s. 6d.), is most charmingly illustrated by C. Walter Hodges. Choirboys, with their knowledge. knowledge of choir routine and church buildings, will enjoy this—especially, I feel, grown-up cholrboys!

THE TREASURE RIDERS, by Marjorie E. Proctor (Blandford Press, 7s. 6d.), is about a riding family in search of family inheritance. A German boy and a French boy gradually lose their mistrust for each other and become

NINE TO TWELVE

All children of nine to 12 will enjoy at least one of the three new Puffins (Penguin Books, 2s. 6d. each). Melissa Ann, by Ethel Parton, is a charming American story of the 1820s, and any girl who likes "The Wide, Wide World" would like the unhurried detail of this book.

Both boys and girls will like THE HEIR OF CHARLECOTE, by Mark Dallow, for this is about a boy who played in Shakespeare's company before Queen Elizabeth. Boy OF THE INDIAN FRONTIER, by Wray Hunt, is a good boys' story which some girls will like,

* ON PAGE SEVEN

TWO PAGES OF

A third policy for Africa By VICTOR SALDJI

New Hope in Africa, by J. H. Oldham. Longmans 7s. 6d.

DR. OLDHAM, for more than thirty year an acknowledged authority on African affairs, has made a most challenging presentation of a movement storted tion of a movement started in Africa in 1949 by a group of people who seek to put a vision into reality and remove the fears that in embitter relationships in Africa.

In order to keep their task within manage able proportions they restricted their field to those African territories situated mainly within the tropic of Capricorn, and thus the Capri corn Africa Society was born. It goes without saying, however, that the fundamental principles of the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limans and the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limans and the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limans and the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limans and the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limans and thus the same and the society are applicable beyond the society are applicable beyond the same and the same and the same and the same are applicable beyond the same and the same are applicable beyond the sam bounds of the Limpopo and the Sahara to the whole of Africa and the world itself.

The dynamic of this movement is the conviction that "all more more many interest."

viction that "all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to one another.

White domination and exclusive African nationalism are both uncompromisingly rejected not only on the grounds that they are margles are some and the state of the morally wrong, and practically unrealisable but also on the grounds of "a confident believed." that there is a third policy, that of creating an inter-racial integrated society in which the different races co-operate without regard to colour or creed for the common regard to colour or creed, for the common material and spiritual enrichment of all.

An uneasy feeling may come over many friends of Africa on reading that the aim of CAS is to establish "a common African patriotism." To those to whom the very word "patriotism" means bugle calls and bayones this may be a difficult burdle to clear.

this may be a difficult hurdle to clear.

But when seen as a loyalty that overcome differences of race and creed it takes on it new meaning.

The love and loyalty that people feel for the family group, groups of family groups, so on in ever widening circles, is only perverted when it stops short at some national graphical boundary and is from then onward against the rest of the human community.

Such a narrowing of outlook would be in compatible with the patriotism envisaged which can only logically stop at a comme world patriotism that knows no frontiers.

The barrier of racism is well dealt with the third chapter but, "colour feeling reverse" also comes in for severe censure. favourably prejudiced view of all Africans as unreasonable as a presentable as a presen as unreasonable as an unfavourably prejudiced

Problems discussed cover representation and the franchise, education, the position of wome in African society and the relationship of the British government to the Capricorn territories: Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and Uganda.

The resources of Capricorn Africa are valued the author poses the question of how better they can be utilised for the good of all.

Here CAS is in agreement with the African Royal Commission Report Victor Walter

African Royal Commission Report which we published very shortly before "New Hope" Africa" went to the printer.

The reservation of land on a racial basi opportunity and security of tenure are recognised as prime essentials but there are dangers inherent in the individualisation of land ownership that must be noted.

In this respect the views of Mbiy Koinange* and Mbonu Ojike† on the land question are earnestly pressed upon the atter ion of Dr. Oldham and the CAS.
Dr. Oldham's challenge is not to be ignored

"The Capricorn Africa Society, having joined battle, cannot afford to fail. It needs even support that can be given to it. If it following a wrong path, let it be shown the right one. Where it is lacking in insight, let the lack be made good. But let no one think that he can stand aside."

*" The People of Kenya Speak for Them The reopie of Kenya speak for the selves," by Mbiyu Koinange, KAU Delegde (2s., from author, 7 Winchester Rd., N.W.3) "My Africa" by Mbonu Ojike, Deput Leader of Eastern Nigeria. Blandford Pres 10s. 6d. Both reviewed May 6, 1955.

EPWORTH BOOKS

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By E. Clifford Urwin, M.A., B.D.

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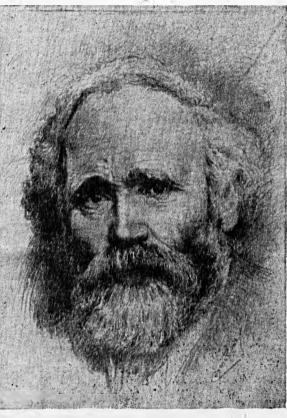
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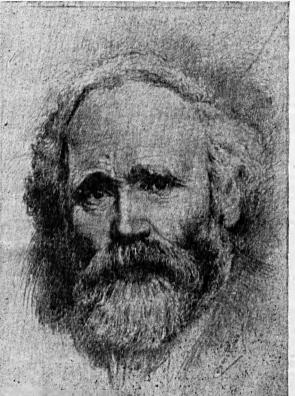
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H. Oldham. Long.

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PRESS on, E.C.i. BOOK REVIEWS

Means and Ends By LESLIE HANNA

A WAR novel replete with the excitement, the tenseness, of spying and counter espionage is not the usual type to recommend to readers of Peace News. But THE TRUE DECEIVERS, by Hans Rosenhaupt, himself a wartime interrogator in the US Army Intelligence Service, will appeal to everyone who express war in all its aspects. everyone who opposes war in all its aspects. has its full measure of excitement, of important secrets wormed out of reluctant Nazi agents. But it is far more than a mere

war novel of spying and intelligence work.

THE TRUE DECEIVERS could be called a psychological novel. It is deeply introspective. The central character, an American intelligence offerman origin, shows an appropriate origin or origin or origin. an unusual awareness of the deeper issues involved in this type of war work. He is no mere automaton, carrying out orders and performing a "patriotic" duty. He questions his motives, probes the question of means and ends, and asks himself whether any man is invited. is justified in deceiving and lying for ends which are "good." And what is the ultimate effect on the deceiver himself?

Here is a book to stimulate thought. It would be appropriate for those people who admit the beastliness of war but who try to con-vince themselves that "the end justifies the

lt poses its problems for those who oppose participation of any kind in a war, no matter how "good" the purpose for which it is ostensibly fought. "Men get tired of peace," one of the characters exclaims. Do Before dismissing this lightly, it might be as well to examine the import of such an opinion. For there is a certain basis of truth in the position that men are restless creatures and many of them get bored with humdrum existence.

That is one of the problems of human nature which pacifists need to bear in mind when condemning war. There is a remedy, of course, but there is no short cut towards applying it. Peace must be made "exciting." And it can—if our thinking is not cast in a negative mould but channelled into a constructive direction for a better life for all. THE TRUE DECEIVERS, published by Gollancz, 12s. 6d., shows all the "glamour" of espionage work. But as we read on into the novel, the glitter begins to wear off the gingerbread. It can be recommended to those, especially the young, who may be enamoured of intelligence work. It will also

prove stimulating to those who see through the makebelieve and open up fresh avenues of thought in our approach to the psycho-logical problems involved in outlawing war. The study of history

Man on his Past, The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship, by Herbert Butter-field. Cambridge University Press, 22s. 6d.

THE scope of this book is narrower than its title suggests. It is mainly concerned with the transformation of historical scholarhip in the nineteenth century, and the part played in this by Ranke and Acton.

Perhaps the most interesting theme touched Professor Butterfield is the relationship tween technical history—history that is valid for Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory anke—and the beliefs and preoccupations of the technical historian himself.

The book concludes with two chapters which The book concludes with two chapters which iscuss the development of historical research on the origins of the Seven Years War and of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

G.C.

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Have you attached this coupon to a sheet bearing names and addresses of your friends? "Both are intelligent, sensitive, subtly humorous," writes ETHEL MANNIN of

Waiting for the Mahatma, by R. K. Narayan. Methuen & Co. Ltd., 12s. 6d. To Whom She Will, by R. Prawer Jhabvala. Allen & Unwin, 15s.

I-ERE are two completely delightful Indian novels, one, WAITING FOR THE MAHATMA, by an Indian novelist of some repute, the other, To Whom She Will, is apparently a first novel. Both are gently ironic.

Mr. Narayan writes of a young man, Sriram, who, during the war, is drawn into the inner circle around Gandhi for love of a girl who shakes a collecting box at him. He joins the huge crowd waiting for the Mahatma on the banks of the river in the hope of seeing her again. As a result of attending the meeting he becomes part of the Gandhi entourage, wears Khadi, learns to spin, goes about the country painting "Quit India" on walls, and, generally, does all that is required of him, but all for the love of the girl rather than for Mother India.

There are some thumbnail pictures of the Mahatma interwoven with the story of Sriram and his adventures which give the impression of having been etched from the life.

Sriram becomes involved with a terrorist and is sent to prison. He is released into an independent India—one of the prison warders tells him, "Mahatma Gandhi is becoming the Emperor of India"—and seeks out his terrorist colleague, who has escaped prison, since he always had Sriram do the dirty work, he himself merely giving the orders.

He shows Sriram hundreds of photographs of processions, crowds, meetings—a romanticised documentary of the Independence movement. Sriram is not unnaturally both irritated and bored, feeling that he didn't go about "inscribing 'Quit' and overturning trains just to provide a photographer with material for his album."

The photographer, however, gives him news of the girl and even writes a letter for him to her—a very fine romantic letter such as the simple Sriram could never have concocted. He finds the girl again in New Delhi and they go together to Gandhi for his blessing on their wedding—since the girl won't marry without it. Gandhi gives it and says, moreover that he will be their "priest," but then later has a sudden feeling that he may not after all be able to attend. He then goes off to a prayer meeting that fatal last prayer meeting. The book ends with the shots.

Of not many novels can it be said that one is sorry to finish reading it, but this is one for this present reviewer. It is a book with a very special quality of gentle ironic humour, and, one feels, an intimate knowledge of the India of the period.

Miss Jhabvala's novel, To WHOM SHE WILL, has a similar quality of gentle humour. It is the story of what in England would be described as a middle-class young woman in love with a proletarian young man. The young woman is of an independent turn of mind and firmly overrides her orthodox mother's efforts to make

her conform to the social conventions of her class. She goes off to work at the radio station, at which the young man is also an announcer.
The young man is charming and weak; it would be true to say that he is in love with the idea of being in love with this socially the idea of being in love with this socially superior young woman rather than in love with her, whereas she is simply and sincerely in love with him. His family arrange a suitable marriage for him and almost up to the time of the wedding he lacks the courage to break the news to his beloved Amrita. There is no wilful deception on his part when in the full knowledge that he is to be married in a week or so's time to a girl of his own class he agrees to run away to England with Amrita. With her he lives in this fantasy; in the bosom of his family he conforms. He has to be continually reminding himself that Amrita is his great love and that he is heartbroken at being forced into marriage with another. Amrita, for her part, has firmly resisted her scheming mamma's attempts to arrange a socially suitable marriage for her with a man she has never met. She will give herself to whom she will and to none other. superior young woman rather than in love

One reviewer has been reminded of Jane Austen in reading this book, despite the vast difference in time and place; the present reviewer is lamentably ignorant of Jane Austen but was completely fascinated by the delicately delineated details of character and the social scene. It seems quite right and proper that at the end of her book Miss Jhabvala should obligingly give a list of recipes for the various dishes mentioned in the story.

Both these novels can be recommended to people like the present writer, who do not normally reckon to read novels. Both are intelligent, sensitive, subtly humorous, and as evocative as the best kind of travel book.

WHAT DOES YOUR CONSCIENCE TELL YOU?

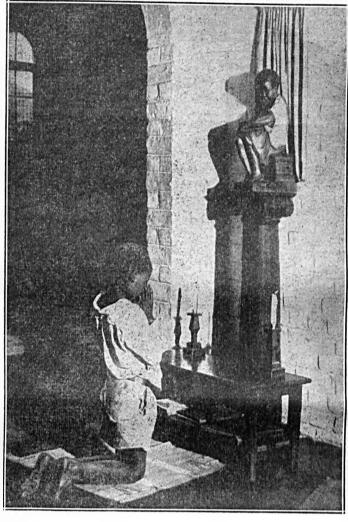
JULES ROMAINS asks and answers this question, posed with regard to the individual's share in the fate of his country, in his A FRENCHMAN EXAMINES HIS CON-SCIENCE*

The greater part of the book is a penetrating study of the things that are wrong in France today, institutionally as well as in people's attitude to others and to the common welfare. The last five chapters set out the author's continuities ideas on how to remedy his country. structive ideas on how to remedy his country's psychological and moral shortcomings.

Only these last chapters are of specifically Only these last enapters are of specifically French interest, in so far as the suggestions they contain are cut to the particular measure and shape of French institutions and habits. All the others, though details would differ, fit other countries equally well, our own included.

Of dozens of points worth quoting if space permitted, one stands out with particular sharpness—the observation that a nation will do well to correct its traditional faults instead of being idiotically proud of them.

ROY SHERWOOD. *By Jules Romains. Andre Deutsch, 12s. 6d. Where Fr. Huddleston works



This photographic study from Father Trevor Huddleston's House of the Community of the Resurrection in Johannesburg has been reproduced on a Christmas Card published by the Peace News subsidiary, Endsleigh Cards (Ref. PP1, price 5d.).

Last week Father Huddleston, outspoken critic of apartheid, received an abusive letter from a government official declaring, "If ever a man deserved to be desumment out of a country to be

If ever a man deserved to be drummed out of a country, to be ignominiously deported as an undesirable immigrant, or in the last resort strung from the nearest lamp-post as a renegade, it

HENRY CARTER: PRACTICAL IDEALIST

Henry Carter, CBE: A Memoir, by E. C. which he held. The other impression one Urwin. Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.

ALL who knew Henry Carter will be glad to have this memoir of his life and activities. His activities, as the memoir shows, fell into three main categories—his service as a Methodist minister, his devotion to the Temperance cause, and his concern with international affairs, particularly his indefatigable labours on behalf of refugees.

Two impressions chiefly emerge from this portraiture. Though Henry Carter was ardently dedicated to these various causes he was no impractical idealist. Whatever work he took up he mastered its details and problems so efficiently that he was recognised in high quarters as an expert. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, he was chairman of the Christian Council for Refugees, to quote a few of the public offices Urwin's record.

derives is that, although his was a stern puritan standpoint, he was no bigot or fanatic. Indeed, he was brought into conflict with some of his more rigid Methodist friends over such an issue as the Sunday opening of cinemas.

No mention is made in these pages of his chairmanship of the National Peace Council, and therefore it is perhaps permissible to re-call here his peculiar gifts in that capacity. Henry Carter was the ideal chairman. He could guide a meeting through difficult channels, give all sides a fair hearing, and yet without exercising autocratic control lead it to a positive decision. He was a keen pacifist, but he was never intolerant of those whose convictions differed from his own.

Altogether a remarkable personality who fully deserves the tributes paid to him in Mr. Urwin's record. KENNETH INGRAM.

We declare war on Vivisection

- In fact, we declared it long ago. It is a relentless war; and it is fought all over the country, week in and week out, in the streets and squares (van campaigns, open-air meetings), under cover (shop campaigns, meetings, publicity stalls in markets), in the press (letters, advertisements), on the hoardings (posters), and by every other legal means available. It is a war to end one of the most cruel, ruthless and immoral practices of our day.
- Every year in Britain there are over 2,000,000 experiments on living animals "calculated to inflict pain". Can good come out of evil? And if it could, is an evil means to a good end thereby justified? We believe vivisection to be fundamentally unsound from a scientific point of view; but far more important is the fact that this organised infliction of suffering is unethical.
- Our fight will go on until it is won. Meanwhile, we need all the help we can get-all the help that you, who read this, can give. Please write today for information to-

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Dr. BRONOWSKI ON THE **DUTY OF HERESY**

Mr. Gordon Dean, late Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission has stated that the fact that reactors being built in America were still on the secret list had seriously handicapped American business in its com-petition with English business for world reactor markets.

Commenting on this at the recent con-ference of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace at Oosterbeck, Dr. 1. Bronowski, noted scientist and Director of the central research establishment of the National Coal Board, stated "God moves in a mysterious way, and it may be that science will be liberated by this anxiety to sell atomic power."
His speech has now been published by

the National Peace Committee under the title "The Dilemma of the Scientist,"

"HERE is one thing above all others that the scientist has a duty to teach to the public and to governments: it is the duty of heresy" said Dr. Bronowski. "The sense of intellectual heresy is the life blood of our civilisation."

While defending the scientist against the hatred of a public which sought to make him the scapegoat for its own shortcomings-a hatred which might well force him to side always with established authority—he did not spare that minority of scientists who have acquiesced in the abuse of science.

We have contrived weapons and policies with our public conscience which each of us individually would never have undertaken with his private conscience. Men are only murderers in large groups. They do not individually go out and strangle their neighbour. And scientists are only murderers in large groups well-strangly. in large groups-collectively. For scientists are very ordinary human beings.

To say that the scientist ought not to have invented this, or disclosed that secret " ask the scientist to do the job for which the public had elected 630 Members of Parliament, he continued. The individual scientist was not the keeper of the public conscience.

Dr FUCHS

Only one man had dared to shoulder public responsibility in such a way, and that was Dr. Fuchs. Dr. Fuchs did what the public was today asking of every scientist: he had decided what to do with a scientific invention.

Dr. Bronowski continued:

What then is he the keeper of? He is the keeper of his own private conscience. He has the right to act individually as a conscientious objector. Indeed I believe that he has the duty to act as a conscientious objector. I would like to repeat this point. He has a business to settle with his own conscience: the serious business whether he personally will engage in forms of research of which he does not morally approve."

Outlining what he considered to be the

duties of the scientist, the public and the governments, Dr. Bronowski said:

"In all countries the serious threat to scientists who have once touched the fringe of secret subjects is, that they are caught in something from which they can never escape again. They do not get a passport in case somebody captures them. They cannot get a job because if they do not want to do this, then they are too dangerous or awkward to be trusted with anything else . . . This is the duty which citizens owe to scientists, to insist that governments shall make it possible for scientists to be conscientious objectors if they wish."

It was the responsibility of the public to make the decisions on which the future depended, and to make them themselves, he argued. It was the duty of the scientist to inform the public, and so create a public opinion for right policies: this he could only do by sharing his scientific knowledge.

Lastly he turned to the duty of the government—which was to allow scientists to speak freely on subjects of world importance. On his own experience in overcoming the secrecy surrounding atomic projects, he commented:
"I read what the great indiscreet Senator

said to the small indiscreet reporters, and I know that nine statements are nonsense and one statement is accurate. Then I quote the one that is accurate, but not as my

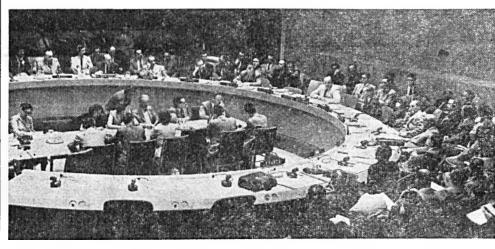
The great sin of the public in his view had been acquiescence in this secrecy, a secrecy which could lead to the greatest of all disasters, the disaster of state intolerance:

"The scientist must preserve the tradition of quarrelling, of questioning, and of dissent on which science (and I believe all post-renaissance civilisation) has been built. My message today, in this and in all else, is the scientist's duty to speak. Let us not look askance at any ally in the drive against silence."

A MILESTONE IN HISTORY is the title of the latest of the Ruth Fry pamphlets (from 48 Clarendon Rd., W.11, 2d.). The author contends that since the first Geneva conference there has been a growing realisation that the enemy is not this or that country, but was itself, and that therefore the state described by Professor Einstein as "peace secured through a supernational organisation" is nearer to us one of the outstanding problems of our age.

WILFRED WELLOCK. enemy is not this or that country, but war

THE CITIZENS' ENQUIRY INTO THE UNITED NATIONS



Throughout Britain peace groups are answering "The Citizens' Enquiry into the United Nations," a valuable questionnaire prepared by the United Nations Association.

The results of this national enquiry-aimed at the stimulation of discussion on problems connected with the United Nations and the registering of public opinion on such issues as the H-bomb, Disarmament, Human Rights, and the War on Want—are

A copy of the questionnaire and of the explanatory pamphlet can be obtained for 6d. from UNA, 25 Charles St., London, W.1. Questionnaires must be returned to that address not later than December 12, 1955.

Below, Margaret L. Brooks reports some of the conclusions reached by Bristol Central Peace Pledge Union group after discussion:

HERE was an unqualified and unani-

mous "No!" to the proposition that Britain should use the hydrogen bomb in any circumstances.

It was emphasised that the whole idea of "Allies" would become—should become—meaningless progressively as the United Nations came to maturity and succeeded in embracing all nations in brotherhood. This was surely the aim of the United Nations and must not be lost sight of.

The second question dealt exclusively with disarmament, the Bristol group being com-pletely desirous that Britain should disarm now, whether or not other nations took this

The disarmament of all nations must be the ultimate aim, and this would obviate the second part of the query for, if all nations were working towards this there would be no necessity to impose "international inspection and control of all arms," with all the dangers that that implied.

A FIRST STEP

But, whilst the disarmament of Britain was a first step towards peace, it was agreed that radical changes would have to be made in our economic system to ensure the smooth absorp-tion of all people engaged in the manufacture of arms for their livelihood into enterprises of a constructive nature.

There was no shortage of suggestions as to what might be done with the labour so released!

The third question—one that is always used to arouse chivalry and a sense of fair playwhether Britain should go to war to help another country which has been attacked, or to support the United Nations in this, was received as an out-dated demand.

With the sufferings of the people of Korea in mind and all that "liberation" had meant to that country, it was felt that in no circum-stances should Britain take this sort of

Working for what?

Christian Principles and Human Relationships in Industry, SCM Press, 1s.

THIS pamphlet is a statement by the Manchester Working Party on Christianity and Industry which came into being in the Autumn of 1953 following a meeting held in Manchester to hear an address by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the application of

the Christian Faith to Industry and Commerce.
The field of inquiry covered by the Working
Party was the limited one of industry as it exists today, and within that field the Report has considerable value.

But is that field sufficient for the need of today? Our present need is not to see how much of the Christian faith can be infused into modern industry, but rather what form industry should take in order to enable all who take part in it to fulfil themselves by pouring out their souls in the effort to make heir maximum contribution to the social well-

being.

In the "Conclusion," there are passages

which appear to recognise this need:

"What gives dignity and significance to
the work men do is that in and through it they may fulfil the purpose for which they were created, and that purpose is the service of God and their fellowmen. It is the fulfilment of this purpose which alone gives real meaning and lasting satisfaction to man's endeavours."

The chief product of mass-production in-dustry is fragmented man. The chief aim of a Christianity-inspired industrial system would be the making of whole men through personal

responsibility and creative self-expression.

Let us hope that the Manchester Working Party, which has been under attack from Trade Union spokesmen, will devote itself to

"help" to any people. No realist could support such a notion after Korea.

The fourth-whether Britain should be prepared to contribute its share to a United lations force, provided that great national forces were given up—was found to be a little ambiguous. If national forces no longer existed, there could be no occasion for the intervention of UN forces. And, if national armics were still maintained, the UN would be in conflict with those national forces. In neither case, it was determined, could United Nations forces make a contribution to peace.

The second part of the questions was con-cerned with "Human Rights." It was agreed that all men, irrespective of race or creed, should have equal rights, and that this should be accepted universally even before the attainment of any specified educational or social standards.

That one should try to influence one's own Government to put this into practice in territories over which it exercises authority, was

regarded as vital.

Under "Better Standards of Life," it was deplored that Britain devotes an entirely inadequate proportion of its resources towards helping other countries to raise their standards of life. How should this be done? It was felt that the best way to secure this was to

accept a lower standard of living ourselves.
Whether the United Nations had justified its existence over the first ten years? And the answer—again a qualification—is that in the social, educational, and technical fields, yes, abundantly!

INFLUENCE

But on the political side, rivalry between the great Powers and the determination of each to pursue its own ends was stultifying the United ations and bringing it into contempt.

Did we believe that the policy of our Government could be influenced by the ordinary man? Most assuredly yes. The very existence of such little groups of thinking citizens—all ordinary men and women—as those belonging to the Peace Pledge Union and other pacifist bodies, up and down the country, was an affirmation of the positive opportunities that still existed for the ordinary man.

Governments should be made aware that the ordinary people wanted to see the United Nations Organisation used for the common good of all men everywhere.

It was the job of the man-in-the-street to use his voice in proclaiming that the selfish interests of States should be sublimated to the most urgent of all needs—the establishment of

Revising the UN Charter

WE all long and pray for massive disarmament, as the all-essential pre-requisite of peaceful and warless world.

At the same time we are beginning to

recognise that the United Nations as at present constituted is no fit body to back-up an inspectorate, which (as was pointed out months ago by the Manchester Guardian) will of necessity be a World Government.

There must be an effective World Federal

Parliament behind so mighty an Executive. Perhaps this may be created by the adding of a popularly elected House, possibly on the basis of one member per five million of the population of constituent nations, to the General Assembly, which would become the Upper House, representing national governments.

But how is the Charter to be amended in order to make these things possible, and to prevent the unarmed World Inspectorate, commissioned to conduct the process of disarmament, from becoming an irresponsible World

These things should be actively discussed, by an informed public mind, all over the world. A little booklet helping towards that discussion is Studies in Charter Revision, a series of papers, price 1s. 6d., from Room 10, 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2. J.E.H.

Study papers on **East-West Relations**

Christianity and Communism, Study Paper prepared by the East-West Relations Committee of the Society of Friends. Obtainable as a set of 7 for 1s. 9d. or singly at 4d. a paper post-free from Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

ONCE again we are all in debt to the Society of Friends—this time for their provision of seven study papers on Christianity and Communism, which are serious, well written and challenging.

Taken in sequence they could form the basis of useful ground discussion, while all the ranging of useful ground discussion while all the ranging of useful ground discussions are all in debt to the provision of seven study papers on Christianity and Community and

of useful group discussion, while all the paper except the second, which is devoted to a brief statement of the Quaker interpretation of Christianity, and the fourth, which is the first half of two papers on "The Individual and the Community," could stand by themselves.

By far the most and by themselves.

By far the most valuable part of this publication is the evidence that it provides of how far and along what routes Communist and Christians peed to confidence the communist and Christians peed to confidence the confidence that the confidence tha and Christians need to go if they are to mee one another in charity. It touches subtly deftly on the sore point which Maritain mentioned in his "True Humanism," name! the Communist feeling of "resentment against those who have failed to realise the truth of which they are the bearers, a resentment which has reacted against the truth itself."

CONFLICT

No attempt is made to disguise the fund mental conflict between true Communism true Christianity, but most salutary reminder are given of the confusion arising when the perversions of their respective truths rule across each other's tracks. The following passage from Paper Three on "Communist Materialism and Christian Materialism probes deeply: probes deeply:

"The fact is there is little to choose between 'East' and 'West' in this respect It has been observed that a refrigerator every home is equally the aim of the United States and the Soviet Union; the only ference is that the United States has alread virtually reached the goal. But the West craving for material security whether it the plenty envisaged by the capitalist or the welfare state envisaged by the socialist scems if anything, a little more materialistic than the Comments. than the Communist readiness to fores comforts today for an earthly paradise 10

Paper Five offers an excellent analysis of relationship between the individual and the community, showing how there is a "spectrum of behaviour patterns ranging from pronounced individuality at one end to pronounced collectivism at the other"—Community theory emphasising the latter and Western Democratic theory the former. The danger this situation is then most subtly exposed

"What is to be regretted is the exploitation of these differences of sociological behaviour in the interests of the preservation of internal power; in order to divert attention from the part of the spectrum which is a challenge, because it is not at the fur end but only a few diverged. far end, but only a few degrees and leadership tends either to conceal or to suppress awkward sociological tendencies based on the realities of human nature (the Co munist trick) or to label the far end of spectrum as flatly immoral (the capitalist democratic trick)."

TENSION

Towards the end of this paper the crucis point is quietly made:

"Just as goodness is no quality once

for all achieved, but a continuously emen-ing quality as evil is faced and rejected, the fruitful relationship between person-and the societies of which they are member is not a static thing but something which emerges in the interplay of challenge restraint, both of which come from G the one leading to new creation, the other to the preservation of hardly won insight Because godliness is a tension between the two poles, and not a simple progression, is an eternal quality, as real for one age another, always realisable, always elusivations. Persons grow in stature as they embrace this

tension, and gain freedom as they learn play sensitively within the spectrum."
Study Papers Six and Seven, devoted "Christianity and Revolutionary Change" and "Christianity and Planning" complete a sail fying and noteworthy series fying and noteworthy series.

JAMES L. HENDERSON

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Jan

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cause. We are n of the BBC so, was, we the Director were the w were left w sion that th known to the jamming of pean Progr USSR was Corporation is beyond comments objective "truth."

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> "Peace on more desperate CHRISTMAS Wheathill Bru How

Frida LONDON, W pard Ho., 6 Central London LONDON, N. Euston Rd. (large Grigor McClelli China." SoF.

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Jamming—some reasons why

ISTENING to "At Home and Abroad" (Home), during which the Director of the BBC European Service answered questions put to him by the London Editor of the Manchester Guardian on the "jamming of programmes by the USSR," we were sharply reminded how inadvisable it is to discuss in public isolated effects while omitting their cause.

We are not suggesting it was the intention of the BBC to mislead listeners; that they did so, was, we suggest, beyond dispute. True, the Director was answering questions, but they were the wrong questions, and the credulous

RADIO

were left with the impression that the only reasons known to the BBC for the whown to the BBC for the jamming of British European Programmes by the USSR was because "the Corporation's reputation" is beyond dispute, their "comments and news are objective" and "they believe in telling the truth."

That "the BBC do not jam Russian Broad casts," is, we believe, correct. There are, however, several Western "controlled" stations where jamming of Russian Programmes is a regular practice, and where the broadcasting of anti-Soviet propaganda is a prominent feature.

It would not, of course, be impossible for e USSR to be more selective in their lamming and allow British Programmes to ass, but the Russians have good memories. Having stated "the jamming commenced in 1946", the Director left the matter there, and his listeners could only conclude that the Russians had no cause whatever for their action. It is possible he made mental reservation. vations and wanted to tell us—as the Duchess told Alice in "The Mock Turtle's Story"— That's nothing to what I could say if I

is absurd for one moment to imagine the BBC are not fully aware that the jamming was provoked by the bitter anti-Russian broad-casts from Station SWIFT in the Midlands.

It was from this Station, during 1945—a period when the Russians were Britain's allies in the field—that the Poles were urged to revolt and rebel against the Russians. The British publishes British public has never been informed who ere the officials responsible for monitoring SWIFT broadcasts, or the amount of public

funds supplied for the station's upkeep.

It was sufficient for the Russians to know SWIFT was functioning in this country with consent of the British Government, to warrant their counter measures.

The Russian view, obviously, is that if they could not trust us as an ally, how much less can they trust us now we are aligned against

This week we heard an American Station in Europe announce: "Radio Free Europe will not build a powerful new Station in Turkey. Negotiations broke down over the station." question of control of the station.'

Quite so, The Turks have listened to "con-rolled" stations.

"Peace on earth"—Is there anything men want more desperately?

CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE Wheathill Bruderhof Community Dec. 30-Jan,

How shall we respond to the challenge of the event of Christmas?

If you are interested in taking part in this Conference, please the for further details to: Youth of the Wheathill Bruderhof, Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

Monarchy and militarism

ADY MAUDE'S defence of militaristic ceremony is distressing. Military parades and ceremonies are the best recruiting sergeants for the Armed Forces, and since the purpose of all soldiers, sailors and airmen is to kill, the pageantry merely cloaks the bodies of dead mothers, dead fathers and dead children.

If, as Lady Maude maintains, the preservation of monarchy rests chiefly on these displays of the anti-Christian method of war, monarchy has no future when men and women eventually turn to Christ and renounce war.

"A LAY PREACHER."

Conference on films

Kidbrooke.

IN view of your recent correspondence about The Dam Busters" and other war films, your readers may be interested to know that the Film Panel of the Authors' World Peace Appeal are holding a National Conference on December 4 to discuss this among other aspects of contemporary films.

Mr. Christopher Brunel, a writer well known in the film trade union movement and a member of the Panel, will give a report—from the Panel's point of view—on current trends in British films, a large number of which are war films now being shown or in production. Mr. Percy Belcher, General Secretary of the Tobacco Workers Union, will speak on Television.

Much interest will attach to the statement to be made by Cedric Belfrage on the American film. Mr. Belfrage was, before the war, a film writer and critic well known in this country; he was the author of a best-selling novel on Hollywood, THE PROMISED LAND. Latterly he has been working in the USA as Editor of the New York National Guardian and in a position to evaluate closely how American political trends are affecting their films.

A representative of the Association for African Freedom will speak on the portrayal of Africans and Asians in current films; Mr. Maurice Goldsmith, a well known writer on popular science, who attended the recent Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, will speak on "Science in There will be discussion also of current trends in Childrens Films.

Full details of the Conference, which will be held at the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health, 90 Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W.1., can be obtained from the Organiser, 166 Kew Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

JOHN ALEXANDER,

Secretary, Film Panel, Authors' World Peace Appeal.

"Satyagraha"

DAVID HOGGETT has entirely perverted my meaning by saying that my letter in Peace News, October 28, implied that "Satyareace News, October 28, implied that "Satyagraha was simply a tool for getting rid of the British Raj." I merely pointed out that the Truth-power which, as we all know, was part of Gandhi's philosophy of life, was applied specifically to ridding his country of the foreign yoke, as Jesus Christ's Truth-power was not.

Gandhi, the seer, knew as well as Jesus that spiritual evolution, or self-purification, was the one radical cure for all evil, but Gandhi, the nationalist and politician, sponsored a policy of non-violent revolution which had to

policy of non-violent revolution which had to be carried out by people who were far from being spiritually evolved—hence the bloodshed, which he so bitterly regretted that he wished he had died rather than see it.

We do not outgrow our animalism in a few months or years. As Gandhi wrote: "Complete detachment is not a mechanical process. One has to grow into it by patient toil and prayer." After a lifetime of endeavour he was still dissatisfied with his own achievement was still dissatisfied with his own achievement

LETTERS

along these lines. Therefore it is quite impossible that, as David Hoggett suggests, selfpurification and non-violent revolution should go hand in hand; for the first is an eternal process and the second an immediate policy.

PETER DE MORNY.

Kildare, Sydney Gdns., Bath.

Points from other letters

■ The Quaker team is to be congratulated upon its effective result in visiting China. Let it be remembered in gratitude next summer that our emissaries of peace were the guests of the China Peace Committee which is probably the second largest constituent Committee of the World Peace Council. When invitations

November 25, 1955—PEACE NEWS—7

are received to attend the next World Assembly let us not slight our hosts of today.-Chas. Marland.

• Allow me to point out to Mr. Premsyl Pitter (November 5) that only when ALL foreign troops are removed from any territory can its native inhabitants express themselves freely and have whatever kind of election suits them. In the Helsinki Appeal we read that we need the reunification of a Germany saved from the rebirth of militarism, and that it should therefore remain outside any military coalition. Is Mr. Pitter in favour of military blocs, I wonder?—Eileen Mayes, 18 Warrender Park Terrace, Edinburgh.

■ In Behind the News you pose the question which you say is facing the US Government

★ ON PAGE EIGHT

BOOKS FOR

★ FROM PAGE FOUR

FIVE HAVE PLENTY OF FUN, by Enid Blyton (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.), will be the perfect Christmas present for many girls, and PETER JOINS IN. by L. V. Davidson (Lutterworth, 4s.), is a good boys' story. Animal-lovers can take their choice from cat

stories, stories of a farm, and an entrancing account of Highland red deer. CARBONEL, by Barbara Sleigh (Max Parrish, 8s. 6d.), is a Royal Cat with many adventures; TAI-LU FLIES ABROAD, by Shelagh Fraser and Billy Thatcher (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), describes a Siamese cat's adventures; and SPACE CAT, by Ruthven Todd (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), is the most modern of all cats.

HE PRIZE WINNER, by Kate Floyd Morton (Dent, 8s. 6d.), introduces all animals and pets on a Peak District Farm, and older children would appreciate the beauty and sadness of THE SINGING FOREST, by H. Mortimer Batten (Blackwood, 12s. 6d.).

EIGHT TO TEN

Eights to tens have some good fairy stories to enjoy. JOHN AND MARY FAIRY TALES, by Grace James (Muller, 9s. 6d.), are the old stories with new endings, Margaret Baker has written The WISHING WELL AND OTHER STORIES (University of London Press, 6s.). A YEAR BOOK OF FAIRY TALES, by Christine

Chaundler (Mowbrays, 9s. 6d.), contains a story for each month of the year, whilst THE LITTLE BOOK ROOM, by Eleanor Farjeon (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.), contains 27 original tales, exquisitely illustrated by Edward Ardizzone. Finally, TALES ON THE NORTH WIND, by Benjamin Thorpe and Thomas Keightley (Bell, 7s. 6d.), are Scandinavian and German folk stories just right for fireside reading.

FOUR TO EIGHT

Fours to eights have an excitingly wide choice. The fours will like these stories read aloud to them whilst they enjoy the pictures, and later they can read the stories themselves until, usually, the book at last falls to pieces! WALNUT TREE MEADOW, by David Severn

(Bodley Head, 7s, 6d.), is mainly a picture book, telling the story of the seasons and crop rotation in a delightful detailed fashion. Small girls will be fascinated by PLAYING AT HOME, by Enid Blyton, devised and illustrated by Sabine Schweitzer (Methuen, 8s. 6d.). The children may need help with cutting out the little figures which can then be fitted into different places in the rooms of the book. A lovely present for a

convalescent. THE STORY OF BABAR, by Jean de Brunhoff (Methuen, 7s. 6d.), is reprinted in a smaller size with bright red jacket and gives the first part of the Babar story up to the wedding.

THE YELLOW LISTEN WITH MOTHER BOOK edited by Jean Sutcliffe (Publicity Products, 5s.) is very good value with its assortment of stories, puzzles, and poems, beautifully illustrated.

It is good to find two books by the author of the "Ameliaranne" books, Constance Heward, illustrated by Susan Beatrice Pearce: Adventures of Christabel Jane and Chirpy and Further Adventures of CHRISTABEL JANE AND CHIRPY (Harrap, 6s. each), are small books about just the sort of adventures children would wish to have themselves (like being in charge of an ice-

cream cart for an afternoon!).
PINOCCHIO, by Walt Disney, is a children's favourite, and the new book, with pictures by the Disney Studios (Publicity Products, 5s.) will be much enjoyed, as also will JAN PERRY STORIES, by Modwena Sedgwick (Dent, 5s.), as the stories have already been

broadcast.

TWO TO FOUR

Twos to fours will love the "Golden Board" books published by Publicity Products at 4s. each. Although stiff and sturdy, these books are not too big for small hands. The titles are BABY FARM ANIMALS, ANIMAL ABC, and BABY ANIMALS (bears, lions, monkeys, etc.).

Children's books this Christmas are good value for money. The standard of printing and illustrating has improved tremendously, and books for younger children are brighter, stronger, and more attractive than ever

Finally, two most exciting cut-outs for the long days before Christmas, YULETIDE COTTAGE, by John Harwood (Penguin Books, 2s. 11d.), gives a cottage to make with windows to open day by day until Christmas, and THE CHRISTMAS CRIB, by Dorothy Rogers (Blandford Press, 2s. 6d.), is a welcome centrepiece for the mantelshelf.

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ATOMS FOR PEACE

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Friday, November 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-hard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Play reading. Central London PPU.

London Pro.

Russon Rd. (large mtg. ho.) Janet Rees and W.

Grieor McClelland, "Friends' Mission to

SoF. Saturday, November 26
CARDIFF: 3 p.m.; Cory Hall. "End Conscription Now" Conference. Stuart Morris, D. R. Thomas, Gwynfor Evans, R. J. Jones. Posters, tlekets, leaflets from 2 Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

GLASGOW: 7.15 p.m.; Pearce Institute Govan Rd. Christmas Sale. Work Camp film W. Bsma Burrough, "Recent developments in the Work Camp Movement." IVSP.

The Camp Movement of the Camp Moving Camp Moving Camp Moving Camp Moving Chair. The Devil's Paradox. Chair. Chair. The Camp Chair Clarence and discussion. Chair. Clarence Chair. Clarence Chair. Clarence Chair. Chair. Clarence Chair. Chair. Chair. Chair. Clarence Chair. Chair. Chair. Sec. Parad. Sec. Chair. Chair. Sec. Chair. Chair. Sec. Chair. Chair. Sec. Chair. Sec. Chair. Sec. Chair. Chair. Sec. C LONDON, W.C.1: Peace News Bazaar. Se

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As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Monday, November 28

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Conf. Room, Civic Centre, Rev. Clifford Macquire, and a scientist on "The H-bomb and the Future." SoF. FoR, PPU and Southampton Peace SoF, F Council

Wednesday, November 30 LONDON, E.C.2: 1.15 p.m.; St. Margaret's Lothbury. Dr. J. W. Boag, "Can war be renounced entirely? The view of a Christian Pacifist." National Peace Council

Thursday, December 1 BERMONDSEY: Group mtg. Will intend-ing members contact the Chairman: R. Streetley, 38 Southwark Park Rd., S.E.16. LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Cedric Dover, "The Racial Question." PYAG.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Ho., Bush Rd. Arthur Hadley, "1 Holiday." PPU.

Friday, December 2

BUCKHURST HILL: 8 p.m.; Buckhurst Hill Cong. Ch., Palmerston Rd. Rev. Claude Coltman, M.A., B.Litt., and Rev. Harold E. Johnson, B.D., "Is It Peace?" FoR. WALTHAMSTOW: 7.45 p.m.; Conway
Hall, High St. Rev. R. Waters. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Walthamstow and District Peace Council.

Saturday, December 3

LONDON, N.5: Steenoven Ho., Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. Peace Day. 12.15 p.m. Mass; 1.15 p.m. Lunch (2s. 6d. a head); 3-6 p.m. Bring and Buy Sale. 4 p.m. Public Migarranged by the Religion Commission of the PPU, Rev. J. C. Hedley Thatcher, "Christianity and World Peace." 5 p.m. Tea; 6 p.m. Recital of Recorded Music; 7.30 p.m. Short religious service. Saturday, December 3 Short religious service.

Sunday, December 4 CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m.: Speakers
Ground. S. Sapsed, G. Onion, J. Lyne. PPU.
ELTHAM: 11 a.m.: Eitham Green Methodist
Ch. Westhorne Ave. Service conducted and
Service Conducted and
Mallone, B.A.

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m.; 17 Hill Rd., Nr. station and buses, John Barchay (International Help for Children), Surrey Area, PPU.

FINCHLEY: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mig. Ho., Nether St. Horace B. Pointing, "Bridges in the Homeland." SoF.

READING: 7.45 p.m.; St. Andrews Ch Hall., London Rd. (next Royal Berks Hospital) Leslie A. Smith, Friends Race Relations Com-mittee, "Race Relations and You." St St. Andrew's Fellowship.

Monday, December 5

BERMONDSEY: 7.30 p.m.; Salter 63 Southwark Pk, Rd., S.E.16, Film; "ren of Hiroshima." Adm. free. PPU. · Salter Ho.

Thursday, December 8

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Florence Salmon, "Work Among Cripples." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Stuart Morris Non-Violence and Christianity." PYAG.

Friday, December 9

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho. Euston Rd. Christmas Carol concert, given by the London International Choir. Adm. free Proceeds shared by the Choir and Peace News

Sunday, December 11

BURNT ASH: 11 a.m.; Burnt Ash Methodist Ch. Parade service conducted and sermor (Soldiers of Christ) by Ronald Mallone, B.A. Wednesday, December 14 BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends' Institute, Frederick St. Dorothy M. Turtle, "The Case for the Abolition of Capital Punishment," For.

ELEKTRISH BERTARIK B Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth
Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.
TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz
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MEETINGS
CEDRIC BELFRAGE SPEAKS on the American Film; Chris Brunel on British Film; African on "African and Asian Films"; Percy Beicher on TV; Maurice Goldsmith on "Science in Films"; Children's Films; "Films and TV for Peace" Conference, December 4 Detuils; 166 Kew Rond, Richmond, Surrey, KINGS WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., Nr., Bond St, Tube, "Reason for our Hope," Sunday, 6.30 p.m.; Rev. John Huxtable, M.A.

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THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE 1 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E. 10 and E. 11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 1.15-145 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1; 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shappard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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HOLIDAYS

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SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED MABEL EYLES Duplicating Service, 395 Hornsey Road, N.19. (ARC, 1765).

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a male aged 18 to 64 or a weaman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or ahe, or the employment, is excepted from the previsions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1962. A SMALL voluntary home for the elderly needs an efficient resident general assistant with simple home nursing knowledge. Good free times and comfortable home in informal atmosphere. Wage £3 10s. p.w. absolutely clear, Apply Ifield Park, Nr. Crawley, Sussex. Crawley 1890.

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RESIDENT POST offered mid-December by elderly lady, Kensington flat. Light domestic dutles, reading, occasional cooking, ample free time. Western 0515 after 6. Box 676.

● FROM PAGE ONE

"We were told we must dictate to Russia. The Labour Party, foolishly, supported by the equally foolish Tories, spent £6,000,000,000 to negotiate from strength. Have we negotiated from strength at Geneva? It looks as though Molotov hasn't accepted unconditional surrender. Modern statesmen can't risk H-bomb war, and Molotov can call the bluff to bomb Russia out of Germany.

In 1951, when I had to fight the Front Bench of the Labour Party, Shinwell and others said that by 1954 we could negotiate from strength.

"But Russia imitated our piling of arms.
"How can we say time is on our side?
Can we dictate to Russia in 1960 or 1970?
Strauss, the head of the US Atomic Commission, said that between 1950-1960 there would be twice as many Russian scientific and technical students as American.

"As long as you pursue a policy of raising German armies to fight Russia and China, you're endangering civilisation.
"Whom did we fight two world wars

against? Yet we now have to accept them as

"In the modern world there is no alternative but world war or pacifism. Montgomery and the War Office did not face facts. Force

cannot save the people of this country.

Richard Macaulay, of the History Department, supported the motion. He said we must not forget either to defend the weak or our selves. (Here a member interjected: "All wars have been fought on that basis.") Nonviolent resistance against aggressors was diffi-cult. What could Gandhi have done against Tories or totalitarians?

Harvey Cohen, of the Faculty of Law, opposed the motion. "Where," he asked, "is the self-defence in destroying Moscow and burning the peoples of Asia?

UNREALISTIC CIVIL DEFENCE

"War did not achieve its purpose. The Great World War to end war produced Hitler. The second world war to end fear and totalitarianism led to conscription and the greatest fear of the H-bomb. Petrol bombs turned cities into torture chambers. Ten H-bombs could destroy life in Britain.

could destroy life in Britain.

"Nato and Seato stimulated war. Peace has been the 'justification' of every arms race, and each has led to war."

Pacifism was a rational, realistic way to prevent holocausts. Firstly, it renounced wars and killing other human beings. Secondly, it strove to achieve freedom from want, with constructive help for the two-thirds of the world subjected to hunger, disease, and misery.

A nation united in renouncing war could

make rule by an invader impossible. Modern war was mass suicide, as disastrous to victors as to vanquished, and might lead to the extinction of the human species.

Mrs. Eleanor Balch, speaking from the floor, said that Korea was destroyed because we helped them with force. War orphans, devasta-tion, and poverty had resulted there. During World War II the Danes had non-violently

world War II the Danes had non-violently and successfully resisted attempts to indoctrinate their children with Nazi ideas.

Emrys Hughes, summing up, said that the British governments of 1926-1939 had all voted big budgets for the army, navy, and air force. The most unrealistic department today was the War Office. "If London can be wiped out in three minutes, how can Civil Defence be realism?

"I believe in voting even against the Labour Party. To abstain on any great issue is cowardly."
Peter Kirk, replying, said we had been

Dr. Soper FROM FROM PAGE ONE

worked, he went as a doctor to China, leaving there only three years ago.

The Rev. Douglas Wollen spoke of the

famous conference of pacifists and non-pacifists called by the Rev. Henry Carter, to draw up a statement on peace and war, which had served Methodism well for the last 20 years. "We succeeded in winning one of the other side over" he said "so that the pecific state

ment was signed by 13 members whilst the other side could only muster 11! We were often told that Christianity is a bigger thing than pacifism, but I always wanted to add that non-pacifist Christianity is a lesser thing than the whole faith of the New Testament.

Tributes were paid to Dr. Donald Soper, "that man of complete Christian integrity." He was presented with a long-playing record of Handel's "Music written for the Royal Fireworks," a choice felt to be particularly appropriate as the meeting was held on Guy Fawkes' Day. Replying, Dr. Soper testified to the present

encouragement which the Fellowship gave him, and said it was the first President of the MPF, Henry Carter, who first brought him to an intellectually definite pacifist position.

The way ahead "It is not wise to make a pacifist witness in every sermon," he said, "but it is essential that our people should know where we stand and

have an opportunity of hearing a statement of

He insisted that any evangelism that is to bear lasting fruit must carry certain definite ethical implications.

Wesley related the evangel to ethical principles. On certain matters, like smuggling, the early Methodist knew exactly what was expected of him. Methodists at the turn of the century had a moral earnestness about drink and cambling which gave point to their drink and gambling which gave point to their

"To what ethical implication would we relate our message," asked Dr. Soper, "Keenly though I feel about drinking and gambling, the central issue for me is pacifism."

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prepared for war ever since 1945 because there has been no pacifist climate.

Page Eight

"We all want disarmament, but we have all got to re-arm first. I doubt if we shall have it in the lifetime of any present tonight."

TRAFFIC IN ARMS

After two generations of struggle by the Left in every capitalist country for abolition of the war-breeding munitions business, is the stronghold of world socialism still so weak that it couldn't afford to announce, "The Soviet Union stands ready to trade with any and every country but not in the tools of war?" Is the sale of munitions to dictators, and to countries which need peace but drift toward war, any more honorable and decent a trade just because Skoda is now owned by the Czechoslovak Republic? We believe the Soviet Union wants peace, Why, then, should it play with fire in the highly inflammable Middle East?...
—I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Farewell to ChinaTheatre

THE prospect of eighty Chinese, few speaking English, descending upon a London Hotel for three weeks, filled the staff with apprehension. After the experience of catering for the Classical Theatre of China for a week without difficulties the manageress said, Tell your friends that we have never had more your friends that we have never had more considerate and appreciative guests."

When tickets were no longer obtainable at the Box Office, everyone who worked regularly at the hotel was given one. Days later they were still trying to identify "The Monkey King," "The Ancient Boatman," "The Doomed Ruler's Favourite."

Dr. Horace Joules truly expressed a general feeling when he said, at the farewell party on Nov. 12, that England's dull November had been brightened; warmed by the brilliance, colour and humour of their per-formances, so skilfully and delicately acted before English audiences which appreciated high achievements of dramatic art

He could remember no national group who had ever contributed so much to international friendship and understanding.

NUCLEAR AGREEMENT

Success (in establishing a just and durable peace) may be long in coming, but there is no temporal force so capable of helping to achieve it as the strength, the might, and the courage of the 165 million Americans. . . Our military strength must be based on the capability of the Soviet bloc and it cannot vary with their smiles or frowns. We will reduce our military strength only as the Soviets demon--President Eisenhower, November 18, 1955. strably reduce theirs.

in the discussions between the Foreign Ministers at Geneva, following so soon upon the rose-coloured reports of the "Summit" talks, is a tragic disappoint-

Nov. 25, 1955

Yet it was evident to those not stupefied by wishful thinking, that the smiles and hand-shakes and mutual "back-slapping" which went on at the top level talks at Geneva were mere showmanship, concealing behind its decorative aspect, the knowledge of the deadlock which remained untouched and unre-solved. The so-called "Geneva spirit" was not a spirit of good will, but a spirit of slightly intoxicated exhibitionism.

The fundamental differences between the East and the West were not looked at on that occasion, and both sides must have known without any question that when their Foreign Ministers met those differences would stand revealed in all their obstinate intransigence.

But, in fact, it is not so much the disagreements which are the obstacles to a settlement of the major questions, but the fundamental agreement on both sides that the possession of nuclear weapons is an essential. "There ain't goin' to be no war," because neither side vould exactly relish the idea of touching off the explosion that would destroy in its confla-gration the whole world, is the one idea on which both sides are agreed.

Neither side has changed its views, nor altered its mind as to its intentions, but so long as there is parity in nuclear weapons, concessions are considered to be unnecessary.

There is nothing new in this position except the appalling destructiveness and inhuman cruelty of the weapons on which the Powers have decided to put their whole reliance. A race in armaments which naturally arises from the "peace through strength" theory has invariably ended in war.

Present parity has put on the brake, but no one should delude themselves that a brake has been put upon the monstrous inventions of The struggle for strength goes on, and the President of the United States has made it clear that it is upon military strength that he and his country rely.

The tragedy today is not so much that the Foreign Ministers at Geneva have not been able to settle any of their differences, but that they have given us no sign of any new ap-

This could best be done by increasing the authority of the United Nations, which must admit all excluded nations and especially

Prof. Haddow referred to the devastating

effect of atomic weapons, for which there was no parallel in history. On the basis of

FOR many people the deadlock reached proach, of any fresh beginning, of any kind of vision.

Their words are the same words, as have neyed as a worn-out record ground out upon a rusty barrel-organ; their ideas are the same ideas, as broken down and worthless as the inventions of a madman. President Eisenhower, in his message delivered by Mr. Dulles in major foreign policy report, reveals this with terrifying clarity. He reiterates with pomp and pride a policy which in itself is a monstrous and insurmous table. and insurmountable obstacle to peace.

Russia must disarm, and must demonstrate that she has done so, and then the United States will follow suit. It has been said here before but it comments. before, but it cannot be said too often, that it is irrational to expect Russia to take a step that the Western Powers will not themselves consider.

If reduction of armaments is to be counted as a sign of peaceful intention, then it is more than time that the Western Powers stopped asking someone else to stage that demonstration, while they hoard their own weapons all throw out menacing hints of even wors inventions.

If disarmament is the right step to end the deadlock then it should be taken regardless of the actions of other countries. It is this great the actions of other countries. moral lead that the whole world awaits; needs courage and faith of a high order, which it is apparent neither America nor Russia possess. It is an opportunity, which may never come again, for Great Britain to show her greatness.

D. N. Pritt on Geneva

The following statement on the Foreign Ministers' Meeting at Geneva was issued by Mr. D. N. Pritt, QC, President, British Peace Committee, last week.

MR. MacMILLAN'S failure to secure even limited agreement on any aspect of any question discussed at Geneva is a disappointment which brings no credit to him or to the Government's present policy.

Public opinion was completely justified in believing that the Foreign Ministers' meeting could have had a fruitful outcome. A number of steps, however small, could have been taken in accordance with the Geneva Directive. Had these small agreements been made, this country, as well as world peace, would have benefited; and the Government could have cased the burden of taxation which it still finds necessary to pay the costs of its inflated arms programme.

The outcome of the Foreign Ministers' meeting is due primarily to the Western decision to put forward a non-negotiable policy on each of the problems before them. They continue to act as if the summit meeting had never taken place. Their proposals were made, no in the spirit of conciliation, but rather in the old and already discredited spirit of "talking from strength." There was not one question on which the West was presented and and on which the West was prepared to budge one inch from its previously prepared positions.

The Russians were told they must agree to see a united Germany be rearmed and brough into NATO. The Soviet refusal to accept the has been made plain over and over again and to persist in putting it forward was utter folly. Russia's attitude on this question should not surprise us, since it is very similar to that of large and influential sections of public opinion in Britain. France, and other countries in in Britain, France and other countries in

On disarmament, the West put forward no proposals which would bring reductions in armaments or armed forces, and they opposed plans which included ideas which they them selves had previously made. On East-West contact, the Russians were told they must Mr. Macmillan refused to negotiate on easing

barriers to East-West trade.

All this cannot, however, cancel the solid and lasting improvement in international affairs which has taken place; nor should it affairs which has taken place and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place; nor should it is the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and more affairs which has taken place in the solid and the so be used to discourage renewed and more stimulati to both sides.

Once again, public opinion must exert pressure that will ensure real negotiations and agreements which are of benefit to all.

See Behind the News—page two.

The Bomb, Challenge and Answer THE Parliamentary Association for World not to have a war at all." It was necessary Government arranged a world scientists' to create institutions for the prevention of war.

Communist China.

Government arranged a world scientists' conference last August, during which THE BOMB, CHALLENGE AND ANSWER, was published (Batsford, 25s.) with contributions from Prof. A. Haddow, Bertrand Russell, Lord Beveridge, Henry Usborne and Gilbert Me-Allister (editor).

recent meeting in the Central Westminster, the authors expounded views under the Chairmanship of Mr. Clement Davies, President of the Association, to an audience which included a lunatic fringe of Fascist-inspired hecklers and, in its later and livelier moments, several members of the police force.

Bertrand Russell, wearing his 82 years lightly and never at a loss in spite of being several times shouted down, turned the occa-sion into a living example of the necessity for world government and the rule of law.

"These are the kind of people," he said, "who would plunge humanity into a third world war.

Others who might do so, it seemed, were the US militarists who were ordering intensified investigations into chemical, bacteriological and radiological weapons "to the fullest ex-tent that the human mind can encompass."

"There is no way of escaping the destruc-tive ingenuity of mankind," he said, "except

LETTERS PAGE SEVEN

-"to what use is the USA to put the enormous resources and productive power that will be released" (as a result of any disarmament agreement)? Surely such energy could be diverted to providing aid for underdeveloped areas—tractors and turbines could be produced on the same assembly lines that are at present turning out tanks, torpedoes, etc. Our task is to ensure that aid-schemes do in fact replace arms-plans. We in the West have a prime responsibility in this sphere, for it is the West that possesses colonies and protectorates. -Ron Montague, Leyton.

As you are doubtless aware, the Kabaka, in recognition of all the Africa Bureau had done for him during his exile, and of the important part it has played in making pos-sible his reinstatement, invited the entire fulltime staff of the Bureau (which consists of the Rev. Michael Scott, Director; Miss Benson, Secretary; Miss Jane Symonds, Assist-ant Secretary) together with Lord Hemingford, its Chairman to accompany him in his plane when he flew back to Buganda last month, and to be his guests at the Palace for several days. On December 3, at the Midland Institute, Birmingham, Miss Mary Benson is to give an eye-witness account of the scenes that marked the return of the Kabaka to his ancestral home.

was no parallel in history. On the basis of existing information, we should press for an agreement to cease test explosions. Although the scientist had a special responsibility, because of his knowledge and the universal nature of science, the real problem was not scientific so much as religious and ethical. The H-bomb was only a symbol of the contempt for individual personality which it

Lord Beveridge suggested that a better name for world government would be "world federalism." People feared that world government meant government of their own country from a distance, but it only meant giving up the right to make war, Britain should declare on what conditions she would be willing to abandon this right, and turn over her forces to an international

A questioner suggested that war might best be abolished by individual non-violent resistance to militarism in all countries, to which Henry Usborne. MP, replied that there was a fundamental difference between armed forces for the sole purpose of killing and an international force to apprehend criminals and bring them to justice.

CANGE ASSERTION ASSERTION ASSERTION ASSERTION COME AND ENJOY THE

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